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FBIS-SOV-88-226 *23 November 1988*

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Karpov Interviewed on Geneva Talks

LD2211150088 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Here is news from the Soviet Foreign Ministry: Recently the 10th round of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons ended in Geneva. The two sides drafted a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons and the relevant documents. However, a fast solution to all the problems is not expected so far. Here is what the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov has said in an interview for our special correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov:

[Begin recording] [Karpov, in Russian with superimposed English translation] At the talks in Geneva we succeeded in making progress in the area of coordinating many provisions connected with limiting the number of ballistic missiles, ballistic missiles carried by submarines, and air-based cruise missiles. Many verification issues have also been solved, but some important problems are still to be dealt with. The main problem is to reach an agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons subject to keeping within the limits of the Anti-Balistic Missile Treaty, IBM, in the shape it was signed in 1972.

Besides, no progress has been gained in the area of limiting sea-based long-range missiles. There are unresolved problems in the area of verification, too. The United States' stand has revealed some new trends in this field, such as departure from strict and comprehensive control measures. Attempts have been displayed to confine verification to one-sided control over the USSR.

[Terekhov] Mikhail Gorbachev is to go to the United States and meet with President Reagan and with President-elect Bush. Will his meetings clarify these complicated issues to some extent?

[Karpov] I think that the current state of Soviet-American relations is conducive to placing such prominent questions as strategic weapons, cuts in conventional arms, a ban on chemical weapons, and the like, in the center of attention. I am convinced that all these issues will be discussed during the upcoming talks. The urgent requirements of our times, the requirements of Soviet and American security, make their solution imperative. [end recording]

Forum on Chemical Weapons Ban Held in FRG

Official Notes Soviet 'Mistakes'

AU2111173888 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 21 Nov 88 p 2

[Michael Grabenstroer report: "'We Did Not Use the Chance That Presented Itself'; Soviet Expert Admits Mistakes at International German Trade Union Federation Conference; Federal Government Not Represented"]

[Excerpts] Mainz—In Mainz over the weekend [19-20 November], Nikita Smidovich, USSR deputy disarmament ambassador to Geneva, admitted Soviet mistakes on the path toward disarmament in the chemical weapons sphere. At an international DGB [German Trade Union Federation] conference entitled "For a Worldwide Chemical Weapons Ban and a Chemical Weapons Free Europe," he said the USSR was wrong not to react in the seventies to the U.S. halt in producing chemical weapons and to the fact that such agents existed. He openly admitted: "We missed the chance that presented itself." [passage omitted]

In the opinion of all experts who delivered speeches in Mainz, the negotiations on an international treaty on the final destruction of chemical weapons are in their final stage. Although Smidovich called the "pace" of the Geneva negotiations "unsatisfactory" and expressed his concern about "the loss of momentum in the negotiations," he radiated optimism. The most difficult obstacle is "questions of verification," the problem of how the fulfillment of the treaties is to be verified. Issues that can be regarded as technically solved present difficulties in the sector of "trade policy and commerce," GDR expert Lohs stated. While the USSR's state industry is prepared for verification, private Western firms show great resistance to this because many chemical substances that are necessary for industrial production can also be used for the production of deadly chemical weapons. [passage omitted]

Delegate on Prospects for Accord

LD2311055488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya newscast]

[Text] An international conference on a total ban of chemical weapons has been held in the West German city of Mainz. [video shows V. Kondratyev speaking to camera outside a building].

[Kondratyev] Mainz is the capital of the federal land of Rhineland-Palatinate, which is justly called NATO's unsinkable aircraft carrier. There are a great deal of weapons of all kinds here, including chemical weapons. Nowhere have the Americans deployed more combat toxic substances outside their own territory.

It was noted with alarm at the conference that the Americans are in no rush to agree to exclude chemical weapons from the arsenals of armed combat [video shows library footage of troops engaged in weapons test, in chemical combat gear]

On the contrary, newer and newer kinds of weapons are being developed, and the program for the development of so-called binary shells—whereby a poisonous gas of terrible power is produced out of two harmless substances —is being expanded.

Scientists, members of the Bundestag, representatives of the peace movement, and experts from the USSR, United States, GDR, and Czechoslovakia discussed the

question of whether the effective monitoring and prohibition of chemical weapons are possible against the background of this dangerous new development. [video shows platform behind which hangs a banner reading "DGB Rhineland-Palatinate for a Worldwide Ban on Chemical Weapons and a Europe Free of Chemical Weapons"]

We should not lose any time, says Woerner Dosch, a professor of Mainz University. The new technology which has appeared in the United States is bringing about a situation where it will be very difficult to check on the presence of binary weapons.

Some of the conference delegates also expressed the view that opportunities for concluding an international convention on the total ban of chemical weapons practically do not exist now.

What does member of the Soviet delegation, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Lieutenant General Anatoliy Demyanovich Kuntsevich think about this? [Video shows Kondratyev speaking to Kuntsevich]

[Kuntsevich] I cannot share this position because lately, thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and other states towards really... [changes thought] Significant progress is perceptible at the talks. In essence, a text has been elaborated in which there are many clauses—it may be said that the majority of the clauses have been agreed upon. But a section of the clauses—and I would even say one of a fundamental nature—is in the process of elaboration. But there are no grounds at present for drawing the conclusion that the work being conducted at the Geneva conference is futile.

[Kondratyev] So it is possible to hope that in the near future a convention will, after all, be concluded?

[Kuntsevich] I think that, on the whole, we can expect the conclusion of an effective and monitorable convention in the near future.

Gerasimov Briefs Press at Foreign Ministry

On Gorbachev's UN Visit

LD2211140688 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—"The Soviet Union takes note of the favourable situation that is developing prior to Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to New York," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, drew attention to the report on American priorities made by Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, in which the former presidents recommended that no pauses be made in the talks with the Soviet Union on arms control issues.

"The New York meeting, it seems to us, can contribute to avoiding unnecessary pauses," the spokesman observed.

Gerasimov recalled the recent news conference by U.S. President-elect George Bush who came out in favour of the further improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

"It is precisely in this direction that the Soviet Union intends to develop its ties with the United States," Gerasimov noted. "Therefore, one can state with satisfaction that our expectations are identical."

The remarks by the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Vernon Walters, were somewhat strange against this favourable background, Gerasimov said.

Walters, in explaining the Soviet leader's visit to New York, referred to "domestic causes."

Of course, the Soviet spokesman said, domestic and foreign policies were interrelated, but the cause of the trip was different.

"It is not in New York where answers to our domestic life issues are, but it is in New York where there is an opportunity for implementing our foreign policy programme," Gerasimov observed.

"This programme includes assistance to consolidating the U.N. role worldwide. Won't the U.N. role be consolidated by the Soviet leader's address to the General Assembly?"

Cites Thatcher on East-West Ties

LD2211151388 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—British prime minister's description of East-West relations has been receiving much attention in the Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

He recalled the British prime minister's words in Washington that this was no longer a cold war but a new relationship resting on a much broader basis than had been the case in the cold-war period. Mrs Thatcher pointed out that an end to the cold war had been achieved due to the policy of the Soviet leadership.

"The words uttered by another British conservatives' leader, Winston Churchill, in his Fulton speech in March 1946 come to mind", said the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry. "The cold war is generally reckoned to have started at that moment. To what extent did the world have to change for new-generation British leaders to close the hard page in the history of international relations, the page which had been uncovered by their predecessors?"

With good reason recognising the existence of new relationship between East and West, Margaret Thatcher at the same time made a regrettable reservation which is rooted in the subconsciousness of the cold-war period, Gennadiy Gerasimov pointed out. This concerns her words about the so-called iron curtain which ostensibly still exists between East and West. "A reference to it in the age of glasnost looks like an anachronism, to say the least", the Soviet spokesman emphasized.

And still, he concluded, the renunciation of the cold war evidence of a process of reassessment of the basic principles of relations between East and West.

On Gorbachev India Visit

LD2211150988 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The Soviet-Indian summit meeting was a serious contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing today. The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet-Indian summit statement signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi reflects the coincidence of the stands of the USSR and India on many questions of international politics—such as the situation in Afghanistan, the Middle East settlement, the Kampuchean question, the turning of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, etc.

Commenting on the situation in Pakistan, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the role of the Pakistan People's Party which achieved success at the parliamentary elections can increase considerably. The Soviet diplomat emphasised that leader of the Pakistan People's Party Benazir Bhutto had declared more than once for the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union and for strict observance of the Geneva accords. "The Soviet Union is interested in the development of Soviet-Pakistan relations, in Pakistan's policy promoting the spirit of cooperation and goodneighbourliness in the region. This would be important for the consolidation of peace and stability in the region and the whole world," said the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman.

The results of an official visit to the USSR by New Zealand's Prime Minister [as received] Geoffrey Palmer was positively assessed at the briefing. The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that this visit "laid the groundwork for the improvement of Soviet-New Zealand relations in political, commercial and economic areas."

As regards a meeting of President of the Republic of Cyprus Georgios Vassiliou and leader of Cyprus Turks Rauf Denktas with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar that begins in New York today, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that it is viewed in the Soviet Union as an evidence of a responsible approach of the Cyprus parties to the destiny of their common motherland. He described this meeting as another evidence of the United Nations role in the elimination of tension in the eastern Mediterranean. Gennadiy Gerasimov expresed the hope that the meeting will give a fresh impetus to the talks between the communities and a constructive tendency to the quest of durable and comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem. Commenting on a speech delivered at a session of the Organization of American States by Honduran Foreign Minister Carlos Lopez who urged the Soviet Union to "keep from creating unfavourable conditions for efforts toward peace in Central America," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasised that there is no need to make this call to the USSR. "The Soviet Union declared more than once its readiness to promote the creation of favourable conditions for the implementation of the Guatemala agreements and takes concrete actions in this direction", he said.

Woerner Urges Support for NATO Buildup

LD2311033388 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner urged the North Atlantic bloc to spare no efforts and means for the propaganda of its policy. He made no secret of the fact that in conditions of detente Western allies find it ever more difficult to substantiate the plans for the build-up of the alliance's military might by "the Soviet military menace". Addressing a session of the Atlantic Treaty association in the Portuguese city of Estorial on Monday Woerner said that NATO would never be able to take new opportunities unless it were backed by the public of NATO countries. NATO allied supreme commander-Europe, U.S. General John Galvin addressed the same session to declare for the modernisation of NATO nuclear armaments.

There is every ground to believe that these statements of NATO leaders at the session were closely interrelated. Advocates of NATO rearming believe that the situation is now changing in their favour. With a reference to a high-placed West German representative, THE WASHINGTON POST reports that the FRG which has so far been annoying the USA and Britain by requests to defer the decision on modernisation is now prepared to go along with U.S. and British demands without waiting for the working out of NATO's defence concept and clear-cut directives of the bloc in the area of arms control.

The most zealous NATO strategists have apparently arrived at the conclusion that after the FRG made a considerable shift toward the positions of the USA and Britain on the question of the compensation for the U.S. nuclear weapon systems to be eliminated under the INF forces treaty, the public opinion in Western Europe remains the chief obstacle to nuclear rearming of the bloc. THE WASHINGTON POST admits that at a time when relations with the Soviet Union are gradually improving there is a decisive opposition of the public to the proposal to deploy new nuclear weapons.

Indeed, peoples of Western Europe refuse to put up with the plan of NATO to bring to nought positive changes in international relations which resulted from the conclusion of the INF Treaty. In conditions when the treaty on nuclear missiles is signed, the implementation of these new programmes of NATO can be compared to a situation when a dagger is put at Europe's heart, after the pistol put to its temple has been removed.

TASS Notes Progress in Quadripartite Talks

LD2211191388 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 22 TASS—U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar has expressed satisfaction over the fact that all the participants in the quadripartite talks confirmed their agreement with resolutions adopted in Geneva last week that deal with the settlement of the situation in south-west Africa. Today he urged them to redouble their efforts to achieve a final settlement and, consequently, to put into practice Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council on the granting of independence to Namibia.

Skalkin 'International Review' of Week's Events

PM2111162488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Oleg Skalkin "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] International life is packed with events, as if rushing toward a finishing line that is now not far away. Visits, conferences, meetings, talks. All known forms of contact between states are in progress. The past week was marked by a scientific and technical achievement—the successful flight of "Buran," with all that lies behind it. The two orbits around the earth by the Soviet space shuttle and its unprecedented automated return to Baykonur will be remembered not only by the Soviet people. The history of mankind will preserve this development as an important stage in the peaceful exploration of space. One would like to think that the flight of the wonder ship will serve to remind everyone, especially those most directly concerned, of the earth men's impassioned desire to preserve the earth as a nuclear-free zone and, best of all, to eliminate from it any militarist plans or actions whatsoever on a treaty basis. At the moment, this is possible, and more urgent than ever. The U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative is spiraling on its way. And who knows whether it is under this program that the American spacecraft "Atlantis" will take its "top-secret," "strictly military" payload up in the next few days.

Handshake Across the Himalayas

The centerpiece of international life this week was the visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to India. Millions of Soviet people are watching its progress with enormous interest, waiting for good news about the progress of Soviet-Indian friendship and rejoicing in the confirmation of their hopes. The Indians are greeting the high-ranking guest enthusiastically. The talks between M.S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi continued the dialogue that has invariably raised relations between our countries to a new level of mutual understanding and cooperation.

One result of that dialogue was the idea of holding national culture festivals: an Indian festival in the USSR and a Soviet festival in India. Now they have been held, and they proved to be a unique form of people's diplomacy in the best sense of the word. The unprecedented exchange of collectives lasted a whole year. Although the results of such measures are hard to appreciate in full—they are so significant—the festivals brought our peoples closer together, made them understand each other better, opened up many new opportunities for cooperation and exchange, and aroused truly nationwide enthusiasm for such exchange.

For decades now the relations between the Soviet Union and our great neighbor on the Hindustani peninsula have been on the ascendant. History long ago put to shame those false prophets, especially across the ocean, who at one time persistently and stubbornly warned India against rapprochement with the socialist power in the north. What terrors they threatened it with, what disasters they promised. Due tribute should be paid to the perspicacity of India's great leader Jawaharlal Nehru, who grapsed the historic purpose of Soviet-Indian friendship and did much to give it firm foundations.

Our countries are linked by a Treaty on Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation. The celebrated Delhi Declaration, signed by M.S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in 1986, was a valuable contribution by the two friendly countries, which for decades have successfully and fruitfully practiced coexistence between states with different social and state systems, to the international relations of our complex age. The declaration's 10 principles, drawn up on the basis of the new political thinking, are aimed at excluding war from international practice and moving mankind toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

An Historic Opportunity

The Soviet Union and India do not simply preach these principles. They are guided by them. K. Tiwari, Indian minister of state for foreign affairs, was right when he said the other day that the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an important step along the path to the practical implementation of the declaration's universal principles, and testifies to the possibility of achieving nuclear disarmament.

It is nearly a year since that event. Progress in work on an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms gives room for hope that others will follow. The course of the talks within the framework of the Helsinki process in Vienna, for instance, has now reached a stage where all the participants are talking about the possibility of a speedy conclusion. The next stage is talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional arms of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union is ready for this and believes that disarmament should be resolute, far-reaching, and cover the entire continent, from the Atlantic to the Urals, with the establishment of what Western newspapers call a "transparency zone," that is, with maximum effective verification.

Is Europe ready to take the historic opportunity to live without nuclear weapons or the threat of war? It is not easy for NATO to answer this question today. The North Atlantic Alliance is programmed for many years ahead for a confrontational system of relations with the Soviet Union and its East European allies. NATO's plans provide for the modernization of arsenals of tactical nuclear weapons which could, in the next few years,

nullify the dismantling and destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. At the same time the "upgrading" of conventional forces is under way.

Europe is at a crossroads. There is no unity there on what the response should be to the Soviet initiatives or how to react to the idea of the "common European home." In this respect the atmosphere that developed at the latest session of the North Atlantic Assembly, held in Hamburg 13-18 November, is characteristic. General Galvin, supreme allied commander of NATO forces in Europe, called on the allies to "build up no illusions" about future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms, and in effect ruled out the possibility of changes in the West's position in the foreseeable future. His watchword is modernization and "upgrading."

The general is clearly among those still numerous American leaders of whom the BOSTON GLOBE newspaper wrote a couple of days ago: "Even the most flexible of our political leaders are perhaps having difficulty in getting rid of the firmly engrained habit of regarding the 'cold war' as the framework for shaping policy."

People in Washington and London think that there is and can be no substitute for "nuclear deterrence" from a "position of strength." Therefore there is no alternative to the modernization of nuclear missiles and shells.

But today even in NATO not everyone thinks that way. The vacillations of some of the bloc's members (Belgium, for instance) on the question of nuclear modernization and other arms programs say more than was said at the recent session of the North Atlantic Assembly or at the session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group held not long before. The assembly—a conference club of parliamentarians from the 16 countries of the North Atlantic Alliance—has the reputation of being a barometer of the mood of the West European public. It is symptomatic that despite Gen Galvin's bellicose appeals, the Netherlander T. Frinking, chairman of the assembly, admitted that the course being pursued by the USSR has presented NATO with an entirely new problem to which there must be a reaction.

The effect of the peace-loving actions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries—what is described in the materials of the North Atlantic Assembly as the "Gorbachev effect"—has clearly taken Western officials unawares. And the trips to Washington in recent days by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl and British Prime Minister M. Thatcher are connected in no small way with this complex situation. After these leaders' talks with R. Reagan and G. Bush, the Western press emitted rather contradictory signals. There are reports of proposals by some West Europeans to refrain from replacing certain NATO nuclear systems with more up-to-date systems until a "comprehensive concept" is developed on security matters, which is supposed to "make it possible to reconcile arms control with the modernization of defense potential," which amounts to harnessing a horse and a timid deer to the same cart. In parallel there is discussion of the idea of convening a NATO Council session in June 1989 at the level of heads of state and government, so that this synod can elaborate a "unified strategy" on questions of East-West relations. And so forth.

Light at the End of the Tunnel

This November has been a busy month for elections. In the course of the month there will have been elections in at least six countries. On 16 November Pakistan's National Assembly was elected, which was awaited with special interest for a number of reasons. Some of these reasons concern the specific nature of the internal development of that state, which sprang up in 1947 as a result of the partition of British India and since then has made repeated attempts to embark on a path of democratic development, attempts which have invariably been undermined by interference from the military. Other factors are associated with the country's role in the region.

The election results have been announced. A majority was secured in the lower (ruling) chamber of parliament by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) headed by its young and popular leader, 35-year-old Benazir Bhutto. For a country where Islam, with all its severity, has the position of a state religion, this phenomenon is unusual in itself. Painstaking journalists looking for a previous occasion when a woman was head of government here had to follow a trail leading far back through the centuries. There was a certain Razia Sultana, who ruled for 4 years in the 13th century....

Under Pakistan's Constitution the prime minister is appointed by the president when the new National Assembly meets after the elections. This has yet to happen, so any talk of a turnaround in Pakistani policy will inevitably be only preliminary. But it is quite clear that the majority of the 48 million voters (the population of Pakistan is 102 million), a good half of whom, because of illiteracy, indicated their choice by means of symbols—the arrow, the bicycle, the clock, and so forth—came out in favor of the democratization of sociopolitical life in the country and expressed dissatisfaction with the authoritarian power personified by General Ziaul Haq.

Judging by a pre-election interview for TIME weekly, Benazir Bhutto sees it as her duty to "return Pakistan to the path of democracy and put an end to the power of the military, which has disfigured political life." The PPP, she proclaimed, will seek socioeconomic justice and respect for everyone's human dignity....

Any transformations in Pakistan today will inevitably soon come up against the Afghan question. This is not only an external matter, it is also a domestic issue for Pakistan. Indeed, it is first and foremost a domestic issue. Some 2.5 million refugees, or even more according

to some figures, have created something resembling a state within a state, living largely according to its own laws. Their presence has complicated ethnic and intercommunal relations, is distorting the economy, and has become a political factor scarcely under the control of Islamabad. The country is flooded with weapons, the drugs trade is flourishing, and crime is growing.

For Ziaul Haq Afghanistan was an "idee fixe." If you believe what THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, and by all appearances it has quite a good knowledge of the subject, the president who died in the air crash "dreamed of bringing to power in Kabul a regime that would be a satellite of Pakistan, under which the Pashto tribes would no longer hold the traditional dominant positions." By way of explanation it adds: "Islamabad has long been on hostile terms with Afghan regimes because of the extensive Pashto-inhabited regions of Pakistan that once belonged to Afghanistan."

Moreover, the support for G. Hekmatyar's fanatics and other elements of the irreconcilable opposition to the legitimate authorities in Kabul has taken place, to use a phrase from the not-so-distant past, "all the way with the USA" (United States), which has special interests and claims of its own in the region, including in Pakistan itself. Will Pakistan remain a puppet in the hands of the "master behind the scenes"? Especially at the present crucial stage, when pressure form external forces against national reconciliation in Afghanistan has reached its zenith. The Reagan administration, THE NEW YORK TIMES notes, "predicts a coup in Kabul soon and urges the stepping up of rocket strikes against the capital, beginning in midsummer...."

It is not quite clear which summer is meant, but probably last summer. The summer that followed the spring when the Geneva agreements were signed, paving the way for a settlement of the Afghan conflict on the basis of national reconciliation and the formation of a widely representative government. The United States and Pakistan, together with the Soviet Union, set about guaranteeing these agreements' fulfillment. In practice, with massive deliveries of weapons, including highly sophisticated weapons designed for war against cities and their populations, Washington and Islamabad are jeopardizing the Geneva accords. Countermeasures are inevitable.

Perhaps now that Pakistan has reached an important watershed from which new horizons are opening up in the country's life, it is justified to hope that its attitude toward its commitments under the Geneva agreements will change and that it will indeed promote a settlement in Afghanistan.

Experience shows that the settlement of local conflicts through peace talks and collective efforts taking into account the interests of all sides is the correct and only possible path. This is indicated by the results of the talks just ended in Geneva between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa (with the mediation of the United States) on southwest Africa. And the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state at the Palestine National Council conference in Algiers places the emphasis on political means of settling one of the most dangerous and long, drawn-out conflicts—the Near East conflict.

'International Situation' on PRC Ties, Poland

LD2011000588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Nov 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Vladimir Pasko with Vladimir Kulikov, correspondent in Beijing; Aleksandr Andreyevich Titaren, first secretary of the Foreign Ministry's International Organizations Administration; commentator Boris Andrianov; Yuriy Isayev; Igor Surguchev; Viktor Levin; and Wladyslaw Kleczynski, Polish publicist]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted in which Pasko reviews Soviet-Indian relations and notes the restructuring of Soviet-Indian economic and cultural contacts, as well as prospects for further development]

[Pasko] Now for your letters. We are still getting many questions about China. Grigoriy Sergeyevich Latyshev from the village of Korsakovo in Orel Oblast writes: From the 1 October issue of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA I learned that for the first time in China's history, its population, which exceeds 1 billion, is being fully supplied with food and clothing. I would like to know how China has achieved such successes. Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Sherstyuk from Simferopol asks: What are China's successes in space? Is it preparing a manned flight? I got in touch with Vladimir Kulikov, our correspondent in Beijing.

[Kulikov] First I would like to answer the question from Grigoriy Sergeyevich Latyshev in Orel Oblast: How was it possible to ensure that the majority of China's 1 billion-strong population has enough food in what is, after all, a short period of time—just 10 years? I want to remind you that 10 years is the period during which China began to actively carry out reforms to the economic and political system. The achievements of the Chinese people are directly linked with that reform. It started in the countryside, which is where the bulk of the population—800 million people—live. The reform put an end to equal pay for all. The country's leadership in effect opted for an unprecedented solution: 90 percent of the land, which was previously owned collectively, was transferred to the peasants on contract terms. [passage omitted]

The volume of agricultural output has doubled in 10 years. Today, as it reaps an annual grain harvest of some 400 million tons, China can allocate to each inhabitant 400 kg of grain. This really has never happened before in the country's history. [passage omitted]

There are still many problems in the country. The most acute is that of rising prices, including prices of food products. The government has recently made a number of important decisions to sort out the economic situation in the country. The main conclusion that people have drawn in China is that the reform which has given society so much must be continued.

Now, if that is sufficient I will answer the question from Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Sherstyuk in Simferopol, who asks for an account of China's achievements in space. China only recently became a space power. The first earth satellite was launched here in April 1970. Since then 24 Chinese satellites have been put into orbit. They have conducted scientific research and have effected radio and television communications. The satellites are put into orbit by Chinese space rockets with the symbolic name "Long March," the launches of which are carried out successfully. Negotiations are now taking place in China with firms from Australia, the United States, and Sweden about the commercial launching from the Xichang cosmodrome of those countries' satellites. The benefits of space exploration are clear.

The listener in Simferopol asks about the help provided by Soviet specialists in the preparation of the Chinese space programs. Referring to the Chinese newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, I can say that, at the end of the 50's, Soviet scientists and engineers were working jointly on the problems of space with their Chinese colleagues. Located in northwest China, in Gansu Province, is the largest centre of Chinese cosmonautics, (JuJien) cosmodrome. It was here, in Gansu, that work began on preparations for launching China's first space rocket. But when talking about that period, the Chinese newspaper comments bitterly that the launch was carried out after the Soviet specialists had been withdrawn from the cosmodrome. The question of the rapid recall of Soviet specialists from China at the end of the 50's is certainly not the best episode in the history of our relations with that country. But now, both in China and in our country, we are thinking more about the future of our relations, about the development of ties including cooperation in the peaceful expoloration of space. [passage omitted]

Finally, concerning the first Chinese cosmonaut, when I asked that question at the Chinese Space Research Center, I was given the following answer: China is preparing to send a man into space, but it is hard to say when that will happen. There are still quite a few problems, especially financial ones.

[Pasko] Thank you, Vladimir Kulikov, for your detailed answer. I would like to point out to listeners that Vladimir Kulikov's appearance in China is also an indication of the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. After all, hitherto we did not have a correspondent there. Now we have one, and you can see how many interesting things we have started to learn about that country. [passage omitted]

[Pasko] Now, on to a number of questions concerning the internal situation in Poland. Comrade Zhilkin of the Sredniy Raskhovets village in Kurgan asks why the Polish Government refuses to recognize Solidarity. Comrade Latyshev from the village of Korsakovo in Orel Oblast, whom we have already mentioned, puts the question the other way around: Why were the organizers of the strikes in Poland not rendered harmless? Why were they not severely punished? Where were Poland's state security bodies? Had they lost their vigilance? As is almost always the case, there is one issue but different attitudes toward it, although it is not difficult to see that both listeners feel for the fraternal country and wish it the speediest solution of its problems. Polish publicist Wladyslaw Kleczynski replies to these questions.

[Kleczynski] To begin with I think we ought to look at the problem from a historical point of view. What was Solidarity at the moment of its inception? It was a movement—to a large extent a workers movement—a voice of protest against the injustice of that time. It came into being as a trade union but unfortunately, thanks to certain so-called leaders of Solidarity, it became not a trade union but almost a political party, and a party which wanted to work not in the spirit of socialism but in an antisocialist spirit. Today Solidarity exists as a movement—that is true—but does this mean it should be agreed to register it as an official force? What kind of force? As a trade union? No, it is not a trade union. As a political party? I do not think it will ever reflect what is thought and felt by the working class. If everyone hears and knows that it exists, it has to be stressed that this is thanks to the fact that it is supported by Western forces, the Western mass propaganda media. Its leaders have received $3 million for their work from the U.S. Government. For whose benefit are they going to be working? It seems to me that all of this explains that we cannot grant their wishes.

It also has to be known that we already have class-based trade unions, active trade unions, with 7 million members. Solidarity is not the force they say it is in the West. But it does exist; it exists thanks to the fact that the serious economic, social, and political crisis is continuing in our country, and when we resolve the most difficult and complex problems of our society and this movement decreases in size, then its influence on society will also be reduced. There is but one answer to these two questions: working calmly within our political life. There are trade unions, there are other political forces, and we even have an opposition; we call it the constructive opposition, one that wants to argue but within the framework of the Constitution, within the framework of existing rights and laws. With that kind of opposition we can reach agreement, but not with the kind that Solidarity develops.

[Pasko] Thank you, Comrade Kleczynski, for taking part in our program. In connection with the question posed by Comrade Zhilkin, I would like to say that the subversive role of the West in events in Poland is generally

known. At the peak of the crisis things went so far as the radio stations broadcasting to Poland, calling point blank for Poles to strike, to demonstrate against the government, and to overthrow the existing system. After the situation began to improve, thanks to the efforts of the Communists and all patriotic forces, the West turned down its inflammatory tone somewhat. Even now, however, its propaganda machine continues to sympathize with the antisocialist forces when it speaks about the situation in Poland. The picture of the situation in Poland painted by the Western voices is very far removed from reality. What Comrade Kleczynski was talking about, in my view, testifies to this in a very convincing way.

I would also like to say that the overwhelming majority of Soviet people distrust the Western voices. In fact the information they disseminate gives rise to open protest on the part of many people. To back up what I say let me quote from a letter received from Tomsk from Leonid Mikhaylovich Aarmo: I would like to know what right the United States has to raise the issue of human rights. After all, they are responsible for the bloodshed in many parts of the world. If they are not fighting themselves, they are financing, arming, and training virtually all rebels. They are responsible for what is taking place in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Palestine, and not only in those places. Comrade Aarmo writes: I ask, therefore, what right do the Americans have to raise the question of human rights, especially in our country, given that they violate these not only in their own country but everywhere. I completely share our listener's indignation. Comrade Aarmo has shed light on one of the special features of U.S. policy over the past decade; everything they do is covered up under the pretext of the struggle for human rights. A truly serious problem has thereby been reduced not just to a propaganda slogan justifying actions that have nearly always been unseemly, but to a means of confrontation that aggravates international relations. It has recently been possible to improve this situation somewhat thanks to the energetic efforts of the Soviet Union; confrontation is being reduced. But Western propaganda is still moving along a well-oiled path here, and this reflects the inertia of the policy of those countries which it represents. [passage omitted]

U.S. & Canada

Kozyakov Comments on B-2 Unveiling

LD2311024388 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] The new B-2 stealth strategic bomber has been shown in public at Aircraft Factory Number 42 in Palmdale, California. Vladislav Kozyakov comments:

[Kozyakov] The show resembled a sale to which congressmen and media people were invited. The Pentagon and Northrop are selling a new kind of nuclear weapon. For each B-2 they charge the American taxpayer half a billion dollars. For all 132 aircraft of this kind, to be adopted by the early'90s, $68.5 will have to be paid.

Air Force Chief of Staff General Larry Welch received newsmen in his Pentagon office last Friday. The primary target for the stealth bomber, when it becomes operational, the general said, will be heavily protected command posts intended to shelter Soviet civilian and military leaders deep underground. And he asserted that the Soviet Union would be unable to defend itself against the combination of the stealth bomber—which is designed to evade detection by radar—the B-1 bomber and B-52 bombers armed with cruise missiles. So the Americans are told again that they are receiving the most reliable weapon that can blow up any defense, and the little they've got to do to guarantee America's security is to spend a few dozen billion.

How many times have the Americans heard the same or very much the same? There were atom bombs and there were hydrogen bombs. There were intercontinental strategic bombers and there were nuclear-powered submarines. There are also multiple independently-targeted rentry vehicles and long-range cruise missiles. The United States took the lead in all these weapons, but only for a short time. The hopes the Pentagon pinned on the shuttle is a fresh example. The Soviet Buran, or Snow Storm, has shattered these hopes for superiority.

History teaches lessons. What national security means is anything but breakthroughs in military technology. Now let's face it: The United States' initiative to develop more weapons, and the Soviet Union's wish to catch up have led our two nations to stockpile arms that are enough to destroy all of humanity several times. Isn't it time to stop? Any nation today links its security with nuclear disarmament and agreements to scrap nuclear and chemical weapons and scale down conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains under reliable control.

The new bomber [words indistinct] cannot symbolize security. What can symbolize it, though, is the destruction of nuclear missiles at Soviet and American test sites.

Budget Deficit No. 1 Problem for Bush

LD2311053688 Moscow TASS in English 2213 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin

The reduction of huge deficits of the U.S. Federal budgets will be problem number one for the new Administration. U.S. president-elect George Bush admitted this, speaking on Monday at a national conference of Republican governors at Point Clear, Alabama.

The president-elect said this question needs to be solved without delay and said that on the day of his inauguration president he intends to announce the names of representatives of executive power who will hold negotiations on the problem of deficit with the Congress. George Bush confirmed the resolve of pressing for the reduction of deficit without increasing taxes on the population, by tighter control over spending. He spoke from these positions during the election campaign. But many experts in the United States now think it will be extremely difficult, and perhaps even impossible for Bush to fulfil the promise given to the voters, so acutely the problem of deficit is posed now.

According to official information, the expenditures exceeded incomes by 155.1 billion dollars in the USA in the 1988 fiscal year. The Office of Management and Budget of the USA predicts the budgetary deficit of 132 billion dollars for the 1990 fiscal year.

Local political observers predict that the 41st president of the United States might start his term in the White House with a clash on budgetary problems with the Congress. The new president's programme of flexible freezing of federal expenditures—keeping appropriations for military expenditures at the level of the current year with simultaneous reduction of expenditures on other needs, above all, on social articles under the budget—is very sceptically viewed on the Capitol Hill where democrats have a majority. Many leading economists of the United States think that the tightening of control over expenditures and the reduction of a number of budgetary articles cannot solve the budgetary problem. In any case observers hold that Bush is faced with a vexing budgetary problem: Voters will be dissatisfied both with the reduction of social and other articles of expenditures and the increase of taxation. Reagan left his successor an extremely trying legacy as regards the budget.

Carter, Ford Offer Advice to Bush

OW2211185688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1140 GMT 22 Nov 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] If the main question facing the U.S. citizens before the elections was who would become the next White House boss, then in this post - election period the

questions on the agenda are the composition of the new administration, the priority tasks of its foreign and domestic policy, and what new political directions is official Washington likely to develop. President - elect George Bush is actively formulating his administration. Yesterday, three more appointments were announced. Admittedly, they can hardly be called new appointments, because Bush asked Richard Thornburgh to remain as Attorney General and Lauro Cavazos to retain the education post. He also announced the appointment of Richard Darman as director of Office of Management and Budget. Last week it became known that Nicholas Brady would remain as secretary of the treasury, while the former Secretary of the Treasury James Baker will take over the post of U.S. Secretary of State in the new cabinet.

Observers note that all those who will be occupying positions of leadership in Washington are either close friends of the President - elect or those who have played a leading role in his election campaign. This gives rise to some disappointment, because even before officially taking over, Bush is already beginning to break his promises to some extent. One of the promises he made was to introduce new blood into his administration.

Meanwhile, forecasting abounds about the path that America is likely to follow in the forthcoming years. All kind of hypotheses are being put forward, and advice and instructions are freely given. For example, a press conference was held at the Washington National Press Club at which former U.S. Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter presented a joint report under the title: American Priorities. This document was put together with the aid of influential Republican and Democratic figures. The document contains an attempt to analyze the problems facing the country and, at the same time, offers possible solutions to these problems. It is interesting to note that in area of defense and national security both former Presidents consider the reduction of weapons—both strategic and conventional—to be the most important. In particular, the report says the following: Having signed the INF agreement, the United States and the Soviet Union have made an important step in forming the necessary conditions for ensuring the implementation of the arms verification process. However, a whole series of decisions are still to be made in connection with talks on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

Admittedly, the authors of the report were, nevertheless, unable to fully renounce the established stereotypes and continued to maintain that the policy of threat and the policy of nuclear deterrent remain the only possible measures for preserving peace. In this connection, it is thought that the new President is quite likely to encounter new and serious problems should he decide not to proceed with the modernization of American IBM's.

Both Carter and Ford also feel that it is imperative to continue with research in developing an antiballistic defense system. Admittedly, they had to concede that no system, no matter how perfect, can guarantee 100 percent security.

What is all this leading to? The new political thinking became present day reality. It became the language of politicians and state figures. It is attracting a growing number of followers in the world. This is also apparent in the position put forward by the two former U.S. Presidents. However, this process is by no means simple. Past baggage continues to exert its pressure and it is still necessary to apply very serious efforts to make our planet safe from the threat of nuclear weapons.

U.S. Informed of RSA Approval of Angola Accord

LD2211234888 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 23 TASS—The U.S. Department of State has confirmed that the South African Government informed it of the approval of the schedule for a complete withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola that was coordinated in Geneva with the mediation of the United States.

Charles Redman, spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, said that this meant that all the three countries taking part in the talks had accepted the Geneva Accords and this had paved the way to the conclusion of the talks and the signing of a series of interconnected agreements. He said that at present the delegations of South Africa, Cuba and Angola were holding consultations and talks with U.N. representatives for the purpose of preparing a final round of talks in Brazzaville.

At the same time, he pointed out that specific details of the agreements on steps to be taken by each of the sides for putting into practice Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council were still being worked out. According to Redman, the putting into practice of the resolution should start six to eight weeks after the signing of corresponding agreements.

Redman said that the U.S. continued its mediating efforts. In his opinion, the sides are to work out final details of the role to be played by the U.N. during a transitional period of the granting of independence to Namibia and to discuss measures of verification and control over the withdrawal of Cuban troops. This work is to be completed at the Brazzaville meeting and a date of the signing of agreements is to be announced. The spokesman for the U.S. Department of State agreed that one could speak today of the settlement of separate details and not of the solution of major problems.

USSR-Canadian Specialists on Arctic Prospecting

LD2311005288 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Prospecting for minerals and extraction of oil and gas from the shelf in the Arctic were discussed at today's meeting of Soviet

and Canadian specialists at Moscow's World Trade Centre. The meeting was sponsored by the Ministry of Economic Affairs of Alberta Province. Representatives of 12 firms specialising in the development of deposits on the land and on the sea shelf in the Arctic arrived at the meeting to share experience with Soviet colleagues.

Opening the meeting, Horst Schmidt, a minister responsible for questions of trade and tourism in the government of Alberta Province said that the USSR and Canada hold four-fifths of land in the Arctic which has vast reserves of oil, gas, other minerals. Companies of Alberta having the most up-to-date technology for transportation, installation of equipment and drilling of deep wells in Arctic conditions are prepared to assist the Soviet Union to mutual advantage in the development of oil and gas deposits in the Barents Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, on Novaya Zemlya, in the basin of the Pechora River and in other northern areas, he said.

In its turn the USSR is interested in cooperation with firms of Alberta Province in the development of Arctic deposits, said a spokesman for the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. He said that the proposals for the delivery of drilling equipment by Alberta Province and for assistance in its assembly can be discussed by the recently formed Commission for Arctic Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Cooperation Agreement with Canada Signed
LD1911073488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Text] A program for exchanges and cooperation in the field of science, education, and culture between the Soviet Union and Canada for 1989-90 was signed in the USSR Foreign Ministry on 18 November. The program envisages a further development of exchanges and cooperation in the field of science, education, culture, art, cinema, publishing, television, radio, health, sports, and tourism. In accordance with the program, the sides will continue their cooperation on matters concerning the Arctic and the North.

China

Ovchinnikov Sees Prospect of Normalization
PM2311113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Viewpoint" article: "Not Far Off"]

[Text] A great deal is now being said in the world about the prospects for the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. They have gradually improved step by step for several years now. But it was this year that substantial changes appeared. The Chinese and Soviet foreign ministers are soon to visit one another's capitals. Questions of the further development of bilateral relations and also the entire complex of international and regional problems, including a Cambodian settlement and the strengthening of peace and development of cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, will be discussed.

Beijing official circles regard this exchange of visits as an important phase in the preparations for a summit meeting. Chinese leaders have recently repeated on several occasions that if the talks between the foreign ministers are successful, M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping will possibly meet in Beijing in the first half of next year.

Since talk on this topic began 3 years ago, the Soviet Union has invariably stated that it advocates a summit meeting and agrees to hold it anywhere and without preliminary conditions. As was reaffirmed in Krasnoyarsk, the USSR advocates the complete normalization of relations with the PRC and their development to a level according with the two countries' responsibility for world politics.

Thus the PRC foreign minister's official visit to Moscow is scheduled for December. Let me remind you that the first month of this year—January—was marked by another important event. M.S. Gorbachev gave an interview to the Beijing weekly LIAOWANG. The Chinese public had an opportunity to gain a thorough acquaintance with the Soviet leadership's views of world events and bilateral problems. The interview aroused a broad international response and was regarded as evidence of the Soviet Union's readiness for active dialogue with China at all levels.

The prospect of a Soviet-Chinese summit has been greeted cautiously in some quarters. Even reputable Western publications like London's THE TIMES have begun to assert that the Soviet Union has more need of this summit than China, which is supposedly too interested in Western capital and technology to provoke misgivings in Washington, Tokyo, and West European capitals at the prospect of a rapprochement between Beijing and Moscow. Past dogmas are, alas, tenacious. Outmoded ideas that relations with someone can be improved only to the detriment of someone else are still current. In that distorted light the idea of a common European home looks like an attempt to isolate Western Europe from the United States and the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations looks like a threat to China's multifaceted ties with capitalist states. In both cases the misgivings are unfounded.

The desire for the complete normalization of relations is mutual since it is primarily dictated by the requirements of internal development. Despite the difference in specific conditions, the processes of the renewal of socialism in the USSR and the PRC have a great deal in common. Both peoples have set about resolving similar tasks: how to overcome workers' alienation from the means of production, how to make the economy more efficient, how to democratize society, and how to improve the political system. Consequently, the interest in the neighbor's experience is businesslike and mutual. This

increases the points of contact between the two great socialist states. There is more and more amicability and trust in relations between the neighboring peoples and their profound interest in one another is being renewed and filled with new substance.

A Soviet-Chinese summit can give a powerful boost to all aspects of bilateral relations. But their complete normalization would first make it possible to exchange even more vigorously experience of socialist building and learn even more fruitfully from one another's successes and failures.

Second, the USSR and the PRC are equally interested in creating the most favorable external conditions for their internal development. Since they share the longest common border on the planet, they have a sincere desire for peace and security in the Far East and throughout the Asia-Pacific Region. The complete normalization of relations between Moscow and Beijing would, indisputably, promote this—without any detriment to other states.

Clearly a Soviet-Chinese summit is not far off, M.S. Gorbachev said recently in Delhi. It is gratifying that Indian-Chinese ties have also improved. Good-neighborly relations between such major countries as the USSR, China, and India are exceptionally important for the fate of Asia and general world progress.

Station Observer Mulatov on Relations

OW2211012488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Commentary by station observer Mulatov]

[Text] Dear listeners: The Asia-Pacific region and the entire world are paying very close attention to the current state and prospects of development of relations between our two big socialist countries. This situation is not a secret to any of you. In this connection, our station observer Mulatov expresses his personal views.

Many foreign observers have argued that the coming visit to the Soviet Union by Chinese Foreign Minister Comrade Qian Qichen will become an important milestone in the course of a complete normalization of USSR-China relations. It has been reported that sometime after the USSR-China talks in Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will go to China to pay a return visit. Certain forecasters have already started to predict when a USSR-China high-level meeting will be held and what will come out of it. The Soviet Union and China have said more than once that they wish to hold high-level meetings.

Some foreign observers have been anxious to make their forecasts, hoping to forecast the progress and trend of the USSR-China dialogue, its fundamental issues, and the actual outcome. I think the mood of these observers is understandable because not only socialist but also Western countries, including developing countries, clearly realize the enormous role played by the Soviet Union and China in world affairs. The international atmosphere in the Asia-Pacific region and the entire world depends to a very large extent on their interrelations.

Despite such a situation, I do not think one should make any hasty forecast. I think it is important that the starting point of China and the Soviet Union has been to consolidate bilateral relations and the actual trend that has developed in the overall international situation. This is important to both the Soviet and the Chinese people. It is also important to the entire world in view of the international weight and influence of our two big socialist countries. I believe that the new policies and concepts demonstrated by the Soviet Union in addition to China's foreign policy of safeguarding world peace and developing friendly relations with other countries will be taken as an important and positive factor in world development.

Some of the materials I have read say that some political groups in Western countries have expressed concern that USSR-China relations of alliance may revert to the model of the 1950's. I think this is a misunderstanding. It shows that they do not have sufficient understanding of the current policies of the Soviet Union and China compared to those of the 1950's. The times have changed. The world has changed. International relations change unceasingly. The politics of the Soviet Union and China are not built on certain recollections, but on the basis of current realities. Therefore both clearly know that there will not be any talks on reverting to the model of the 1950's. It is not difficult to discover that the normalization of USSR-China relations and its gradual improvement during the current process develops from the general principle of peaceful coexistence among nations. The normalization of USSR-China relations cannot and will not harm any third country, be it the friend and partner of China or the Soviet Union.

Cooperation between the Soviet Union and China, which is based on equality, good-neighborliness and mutual benefits, already has had a fine start today. The Soviet people hope that Comrade Qian Qichen's visit to the Soviet Union will make an important contribution toward strengthening the positive trend in USSR-China relations.

Li Peng Trip, Relations With China Viewed

OW2211005588 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] As we have reported, Premier of the State Council Li Peng of the People's Republic of China is visiting Thailand, Australia, and New Zealand. Many observers and the public in the Asia-Pacific region have paid particular attention to his talks on relations between China and the Soviet Union.

At the Journalists' Club in Australia, he told the press that China supports the Soviet Union's reform because it is in accord with the interests of the Soviet people. He also pointed out that China and the Soviet Union are neighbors, the borders between the two countries are several thousand kilometers in length, and the normalization of relations between them conforms to peace and the region's interests. We hope to achieve normalization between the two countries and that our neighbors will welcome this normalization.

During his visit to Thailand, Li Peng also said that China is willing to normalize relations with the Soviet Union.

Relations between China and the Soviet Union have long been in a state of freeze. Some Western analysts have even predicted that, it would require several decades' time and a change of leaders over several generations to change this situation between the two countries. At that time, they thought that the stands of the two countries on many issues were uncompromising. However, all their guesses were wrong because they didn't realize that hostility, suspicion, and lack of confidence between the two countries are not in accord with the interests of our two countries' people.

Along with the progress of reform in China and the Soviet Union, a new political ideology has taken root in the hearts of more and more people in the two countries. More and more people are sincerely hoping to resolve the freeze between our two countries. In recent years, the two countries have exerted needed efforts.

Today, relations between the Soviet Union and China are developing and improving. Actually, the development of relations on a long-term basis in various fields and a mutually beneficial economic relationship between the two countries have become more and more stabilized. There are more and more economic and technological cooperation projects between us. The contacts in border areas have been developing. The two countries have conducted talks on their border issues in an atmosphere of peacefulness and in the spirit of seeking truth from facts. The third round of talks was held in October of this year. As to some international issues, including United Nations' affairs, the two countries have held consultations through their Foreign Ministries. The representatives of our two countries have cooperated in a satisfactory manner in international organizations.

The Soviet Union hopes that the visit to Moscow by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in December of this year will be conducive to further improving relations between the two countries. The Soviet side is convinced that there is at present no objective obstacle on the road to improving relations between the two countries. The more extensive and frequent political dialogues have created conditions for further promoting mutual understanding. As Gorbachev pointed out in his speech in Krasnoyarsk not long ago, the Soviet Union is willing to immediately hold a summit with China. It is beyond doubt that the results of such a meeting will not only be beneficial to our two countries, but also promote the healthy development of entire world's situation, including the Asia-Pacific region.

Li Peng Cited on Relations with USSR

PM2111124588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report "From Constructive Positions"]

[Text] Canberra, 17 Nov—We are hoping for a swift return to friendly relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, who is in Australia on an official visit, said today.

Addressing journalists at the national press club he said: "We support the restructuring in the USSR because we believe that it is in the interests of the Soviet people. In China we are also carrying out reforms, many socialist countries are currently effecting transformations. Therefore we have no cause not to welcome the Soviet restructuring. As for the prospects of its success, it is bound to come up against difficulties, just like reforms anywhere in the world."

China and the Soviet Union are neighbors, the Chinese leader went on. Their common border extends over 7,000 km. Therefore the normalization of relations between the two countries will be in the interests of peace in the region. China is a developing country engaged in building a socialist economy and it needs stable and peaceful international surroundings. We are hoping that after the normalization of relations the PRC and the USSR will become even better neighbors. However the relations between the two countries will not return to the situation which prevailed in the fifties.

The development of Sino-Soviet relations will have no impact on China's relations with Western countries. At present the relations between the USSR and China are lagging considerably behind the Soviet Union's relations with Western countries, Li Peng said.

PRC's Li Peng Thanks Soviets for Condolences

PM2211094788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Thanks for Condolences"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has received a telegram from Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, expressing heartfelt gratitude for the condolences on the occasion of the strong earthquake in Yunnan Province which caused great loss of human life and material damage.

USSR, PRC Nuclear Weapons Stance Viewed

OW2211031988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Station observer Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: At the suggestion of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, and Romania, the First Committee of the United Nations adopted a resolution to highly praise the Soviet Union and China for their pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Representatives attending the United Nations General Assembly's 43 session called on other countries with nuclear weapons to also take the responsibility of not being the first to use nuclear weapons. In this connection, station observer Ivanov has the following comments:

The elimination of the danger of nuclear disasters is still the main concern of mankind. The people of the world welcome all steps that can reduce the danger of nuclear war and stop nuclear arms competition. Their desire is quite understandable.

China was the first to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Union has also assumed the obligation of not being the first to use nuclear weapons. Within or outside the United Nations, it is believed that the stand of China and the Soviet Union will eventually lead to a simple and effective road to eliminate nuclear weapons. It goes without saying that the stand of the Soviet Union and China should also be taken by other countries with nuclear weapons. Participants in the current UNGA session in New York repeatedly stressed that the Soviet Union and China have expressed their intention of making the world free of nuclear weapons. For example, among the five countries with nuclear weapons, only the Soviet Union and China support the efforts of people of various countries to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones. Among the nuclear powers, only the Soviet Union and China are signatories to the protocol on establishing a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the South Pacific. The United States, Britain, and France refused to sign this protocol.

The Soviet Union and China resolutely opposed and have reiterated at the current UNGA session their opposition to deploying nuclear weapons in outer space. Their stand has won understanding and support by the overwhelming majority of participants in the current UNGA session. The world's people have held that the militarization of outer space would mean a further leap in arms competition. Such a leap may bring about unpredictable consequences to world peace and the survival of the mankind.

Soviet TU Delegation Begins Visit to PRC

PM2211100588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Departure"]

[Text] A Soviet trade union delegation headed by I.Ye. Klochkov, secretary of the AUCCTU, flew to Beijing 16 November at the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. During their trip, in addition to Beijing, the Chinese trade unions' guests will visit Wuhan, Guangzhou, and Zhuhai's special economic zone, familiarize themselves with the work of China's trade union organizations in conditions of the implementation of economic reforms, and will discuss the results of the recent 11th All-China Federation of Trade Unions Congress and questions linked with the further development of cooperation between the two countries' trade unions.

Congress of Soviet 'Sinologues' Opens

LD2211131388 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—By TASS correspondents Pavel Ostrov and Vladimir Oreshin:

Soviet Sinologues consider it their duty in evey way to promote further improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations and the tapping of huge reserves of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (PRC), said Mikhail Titarenko, chairman of the All-Union Association of Sinologues, director of the Institute for the Far East of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He spoke today at the opening of the first congress of this organisation which brings together more than 600 leading Soviet Sinologues.

The association was set up in June 1983 by a decision of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences to promote the development of Soviet Sinology, and to popularise knowledge about China among scientific and public circles of the USSR as well as to introduce Soviet Sinologic studies in international scientific societies.

At present the association has 12 regional branches—in Moscow, Leningrad, Vladivostok and other cities. In 1987 it became a collective member of the European Association of Sinology. Over the five years of its existence the Soviet association has held a number of conference and symposiums dealing with the topical problems of present-day China.

A new composition of the association's board is to be elected and a new charter of the association is to be endorsed during the three-day congress. Attending the conference as guests are a delegation of the Chinese Association for the Study of the Soviet Union and East European Countries.

Northeast Asia

MPR Minister on Sino-Soviet Summit, Troops

OW2211014488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Mongolian Foreign Minister Gombosuren told a TASS reporter that the coming mutual visits by foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and China will write a new page in the history of the development of relations

between two big socialist countries and is an important stage toward a USSR-China summit. He said: It looks as if the summit will take place, and if it does take place, it will undoubtedly be a political event of extreme importance for 1989. It will not only have a favorable effect on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, but on the political atmosphere of the entire world.

When the foreign minister discussed the troops stationed temporarily in Mongolia, he pointed out: They are stationed there at the request of the Mongolian Government. Only the Mongolian Government has the authority to resolve the issue of whether to withdraw or not to withdraw the Soviet troops, and it will make the appropriate proposition to the Soviet Union. Gombosuren pointed out that a portion of the Soviet troops were already withdrawn last year. He emphatically said: This is the beginning of the process.

Kornilov on Minister's Remarks

OW2111181088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 18 Nov 88

[TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov report on Mongolian Foreign Minister Gombosuren's talk]

[Text] The Mongolian foreign minister has pointed out: Most countries in the Asia-Pacific region have developed their enthusiasm for participating in social affairs. They have made up their minds to eliminate the local tense situation, made progress in discussing the question of security in Asia, and protected their wishes. He emphatically noted: Mongolia welcomes this healthy progress that will undoubtedly bring us the greatest hope. He strongly supports the scopeful Soviet initiatives advanced by Gorbachev in his speech in Krasnoyarsk.

Touching on the relations between Mongolia and China, Mongolian Foreign Minister Gombosuren pointed out: In this connection, there are remarkable developments. The two sides recently exchanged party and trade union delegations, started to restore ties between parties, and restored and developed cooperation in science and technology, culture, physical culture and sports, and other fields. The two countries are preparing to sign a treaty on border [word indistinct].

The Mongolian foreign minister is quite satisfied with the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations. The exchange of visits by the two socialist powers' foreign ministers has added a new chapter to the history of Soviet-Chinese relations and is a major step toward a Soviet-Chinese summit, which seems very likely to take place. He stressed: Doubtlessly, if the summit takes place, it will become the most important political event in 1989 and have a great impact not only on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region but also on the political atmosphere around the world.

Regarding the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Mongolia, the Mongolian foreign minister noted that some of these troops were withdrawn last year. That was a beginning of the process. We believe that in principle, no foreign troops should be stationed anywhere in the world. However, to reach that goal, people must make very great efforts. Of course, it is necessary to take into consideration the specific political, historical, and other factors that lead to the engendering of this question. Gombosuren said: The Beijing circles are well aware of the fact that Soviet troops came into Mongolia not of their own accord, but were brought there at the request of the Mongolian Government, which at that time had every right to think that additional measures for the protection of the security of the Mongolian borders are needed. Hence it is precisely the Mongolian Government alone that has a right to decide the question of possible withdrawal or nonwithdrawal of Soviet troops from the Mongolian territory and address the Soviet side in this connection. Therefore, this question can be discussed only by the Soviet Union and Mongolia.

In conclusion, Gombosuren said: I think the primary results achieved this year are that despite numerous difficulties and obstacles, new political ideas and actual nuclear disarmament are steadily making great headway, which have brought us the happy news: The foundation of peace and security in Asia and all other places around the world will be continuously consolidated.

Slyunkov Sees Off Mongolian Delegation

PM2211133088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] An MPRP delegation headed by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, left for home on 21 November after visiting the Soviet Union under the plan for CPSU-MPRP ties.

The Mongolian comrades studied the experience of party organizations in work to restructure economic management and the economic mechanism. They had talks at the CPSU Central Committee and a number of USSR central departments, as well as at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the party organizations of industrial and agricultural enterprises in the repbulic.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.I. Shimko, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, and also Ts. Gurbadam, Mongolian ambassador to the USSR.

DPRK's Kim Pok-sin Meets With Vlasov

PM2111143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conversation"]

[Text] On 17 November A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, received Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the DPRK Administration Council, chairman of the Korean part of the Soviet-Korean intergovernmental consultative commission on economic and scientific-technical questions, and chairman of the DPRK Light Industry Committee, who is visiting the USSR.

During a detailed conversation which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere the Korean guest was given an account of the life and activities of RSFSR working people and the tasks facing the Soviet people in the implementation of the profound transformations taking place at present in the life of Soviet society.

There was a discussion of questions concerning the state and prospects of cooperation between Russian and Korean organizations and light industry enterprises and regional cooperation in areas of the Far East.

A mutual desire was expressed for the further expansion of multifaceted mutually advantageous cooperation, in various spheres.

Meets With Murakhovskiy

LD2311050688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Agroindustrial Complex, today received Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, deputy premier of the DPRK Administrative Council, chairman of the Korean part of the Soviet-Korean Intergovernmental Consultative Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Questions.

Some results of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed during the conversation. [passage indistinct] Questions of the development of direct production ties (?and) the creation of joint enterprises, and some other questions, were also examined.

The conversation passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Trade Official on Joint Ventures With Japan

OW1611105288 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 13 Nov 88

[From the "Siberian Tour" program]

[Excerpts] A Radio Moscow reporter has interviewed Igor Faminskiy, director of the All-Union Institute for Foreign Economic Relations. Director Faminskiy visited Japan in early October. Asked about the purpose of his visit, Director Faminskiy made the following remarks:

The purpose of my visit was to conduct negotiations with the Japan Association for Trade with the Soviet Union and socialist countries of Europe. [passage omitted]

Asked if he feels that Japanese enterprises are currently not very eager to establish joint ventures, Director Faminskiy made the following reply:

I believe that more intensive efforts can be made toward this end. We and our Japanese partners should display more initiative and study this issue with greater care. I am sure that the two sides can develop ideas on establishing joint ventures in both the European part of the Soviet Union and its Far Eastern region, which is close to Japan. In the Far Eastern region, joint ventures should not be limited to processing raw materials. The possibility of establishing joint ventures in the machine industry in this region that can advance into Soviet and perhaps international markets should also be explored.

I believe the Soviet Union can study the possibility of establishing large-size joint undertakings with Japan. For example, there is an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States to establish and operate a petrochemical complext at (Benghiz) Oilfield in the Caspian Sea area. There is also an agreement to establish a large-size petrochemical complex in (Tobolsk), a Siberian city. Japanese companies such as Mitsubishi, Marubeni, and Mitsui are also participating in these projects.

In addition to joint ventures, we can also discuss establishing free enterprise zones, which embody another promising form of cooperation. In his Krasnoyarsk speech, General Secretary Gorbachev touched on the possibility of establishing these zones in the Far Eastern region. It will be very beneficial for our country to set up such zones in the Far East, which are aimed not only at international markets but are also closely linked to the Soviet economy. They will give a stimulus to the development of a few new industrial sectors in the Far Eastern region. While visiting Japan, I and my party could see Japanese businessmen showing interest in this plan.

After making these remarks, Director Faminskiy was asked the following questions: A decision has been made on the share of capital in joint ventures—a decision on the lowest limit of 51 percent for the Soviet side and an

upper ceiling of 49 percent for foreign partners. What do you think of this decision? Is it not working as a negative factor? Would it be possible to increase the foreigners' share of capital?

Director Faminskiy said in reply to these questions:

I think there should by no means be an impediment to expanding the participation of foreign capital. This basic ratio is an impediment in some cases. We know this from the remarks of Japanese entrepreneurs. West European entrepreneurs also express the view that they should be allowed to invest a share of capital larger than 49 percent in joint ventures. I believe that in some cases it is possible not to apply this basic ratio on condition that the Soviet side shall remain one of the leading members in the joint ventures and that a consensus of opinion should be required to resolve certain issues.

I know that the issue of creating better conditions for joint ventures is now being studied at the governmental level. Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry recently made a decision regarding insurance of Nisso Boeki [Japan-Soviet Trade—FBIS] Co.'s funds that are invested in a Soviet-Japanese joint venture. An insurance system for investments in foreign countries is now widely applied in Western countries. It is serving as a factor to promote investments. Therefore the ministry made a favorable decision. If the ministry takes other, similar measures, it will prompt further development of joint ventures between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Needless to say, Siberia and the Far Eastern part of the Soviet Union are the most adequate places for Soviet-Japanese cooperation. It will serve the interests of the two countries to develop exchanges between the Soviet Far East and Japan. The exchanges will of course include cooperation in the field of raw materials. Cooperation in this field will be continued in the future. It would also be favorable to establish joint ventures in this area. However the two sides can also discuss cooperation in the European part of the Soviet Union in view of Japanese enterprises' measures to further expand their positions in West Europe. That is, they can discuss joint businesses aimed at advancing into West European markets. Japanese enterprises should consider the fact that Soviet enterprises in the European part of the Soviet Union are geographically close to these West European markets. Japanese enterprises in this region will be able to largely reduce their transport charges.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV's Nguyen Co Thach Receives Rogachev

LD2311030588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Nguyen Co Thach, vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers and SRV minister of foreign affairs, received Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is in Hanoi for consultations between the two sides.

Nguyen Co Thach highly evaluated the results of the Soviet-Indian summit talks which took place during the visit of Comrade Gorbachev to India.

In the course of the conversation, considerable attention was given to the settlement of the Kampuchean problem, in the general context of transforming Southeast Asia into a zone of peace.

Soviet-Vietnamese consultations took place on a wide range of international and regional problems.

Soviet, Vietnamese Workers Boost Production

BK2111141588 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Station observer's commentary]

[Text] Continuing to respond to a month of friendship to mark the 71st anniversary of Great October Revolution and the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Vietnamese-Soviet treaty, thousands of production installations in our two countries have established outstanding work records to mark these two major anniversaries.

In the Soviet Union, enterprise workers have pledged their determination to turn out more goods for Vietnam ahead of schedule, and they have lived up to their commitments. Every day our station has received reports from every part of the Soviet Union that large batches of car engines, construction equipment, machine assembly tools, and consumer goods have been delivered to Vietnam ahead of schedule.

At many enterprises, Vietnamese workers have positively contributed their part. Some 60,000 Vietnamese workers are (?attending training courses) at various Soviet plants and factories. An international emulation movement is in full swing at every enterprise in our country.

For a long time now, the emulation movement to increase production output for the sake of Vietnam has become part of our labor activities. Responding to this movement, Soviet and Vietnamese workers have completed the building of the Thang Long Bridge ahead of schedule and put into operation the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Diesel Motors Manufacturing Factory, and [words indistinct].

An international emulation movement is developing at all joint construction worksites in Vietnam and involves such major projects as the Bim Son Cement Plant and the Hoa Binh and Tri An Hydroelectric Power Plants. Workers of the Bim Son Plant have scored a record output to mark the two major anniversaries by turning out 25,000 tonnes of cement beyond the planned norms.

Work completion at the Da River Hydroelectric Power Plant has also developed at high speed. The water discharging system has been tested run [words indistinct], thus enabling flood water regulation and eliminating the danger of floods in [words indistinct] Hanoi. [Words indistinct] the wheel of turbine No. 1. This means that everything will be set into motion very soon.

At Tri An, the second generator group has been put into operation and will help increase the South's power output by one-fourth. In the meantime, continuing efforts have been made to accelerate the construction and assembly work for the third and fourth turbine groups.

In the framework of this international emulation movement, not only have Soviet specialists positively contributed to accelerating the speed of project completion, they have also helped train the contingent of Vietnamese cadres. Thousands of Vietnamese workers, technicians, and engineers have improved their professional skills and (?gained sound knowledge after attending) various training courses opened by Soviet specialists.

Regarding this issue, many Vietnamese listeners have stressed in their letters to Moscow Radio that international emulation is a factor guaranteeing effective economic cooperation between our two countries and also a sure way for the builders of socialism in Vietnam to establish new work records.

Australia, U.S. Extend Bases Agreement

LD2211163288 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Canberra November 22 TASS—Australia and the USA extended for another 10 years an agreement on the U.S. lease of military bases in Pine-Gap and Nurrungar where U.S. satellite-tracking facilities are situated, said Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke today at Parliament's sitting.

The USA made several concessions to the Australian side. According to the new agreement, the number of Australian personnel at the bases will rise from 10 to 30 per cent. The agreement provides for instituting the post of deputy chief of the base for security matters which is planned to be taken by an Australian.

U.S. Criticized for Two-Sided Approach on Burma

BK2011125588 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary: "What Is the U.S. Congressman Agitating For?"]

[Text] According to a UPI report, U.S. Congressman Rohrabacher entered Burma illegally and delivered a speech before some 800 Burmese students who were undergoing training to fight the military government in Burma. In this connection, our correspondent Aleksandr Vladimirov says the speech by the U.S. congressman repeatedly stressed U.S. support for the Burmese people's struggle for democracy. But, what was surprising and difficult to understand, and even a bit worrying, was the timing of the promise made and the manner with which it was given regarding the generous aid the United States would give to the antigovernment forces. Because the promise came at a time when there had been a growing momentum in the establishment as well as in the unification of political parties which aim to struggle in a peaceful way to achieve democracy in Burma.

The military authorities have refused to negotiate on the formation of an interim government to supervise the holding of general elections, but, as observers point out, there are prospects of peacefully resolving the antagonism existing between the confronting forces within the country.

While conditions are as such, the speech by U.S. Congressman Rohrabacher at Thay Baw Bo camp near the Thai border, after he crossed over into Burma without permission, can only be construed as an undisguised call for violence. It is was also accepted as such by the people of Thay Baw Bo camp as evident from the statement of Aung Lwin, the man in charge of Thay Baw Bo camp. According to UPI, the camp in charge said: we will now be taking up arms, but we urgently need aid from abroad.

Regarding the question whether the U.S. Government will give military aid to the opposition while maintaining an economic boycott of the Rangoon government, Rohrabacher's assistant, Wheeler, said he believed that President-elect George Bush will give assistance to the Burmese students if the Burmese Government failed to hold the promised multiparty general elections.

The question to pose here is: The entrance is already unlocked, why break the door in? General Saw Maung has already promised that such elections will be held once law and order and peace and tranquillity have been restored. Perhaps some circles in the Western countries do not want to see that happen. It appears as if the various means they have resorted to to instigate the armed antigovernment groups are to prevent a situation conducive to the holding of general elections. It is as if they are giving a good excuse to those who do not want the people to freely express their wish through ballots.

Presently, the authorities do not consider the students who had fled to the border as rebels and are asking them to return. Only recently, the deadline for the voluntary return was extended to 31 December.

What is remarkable in the statement by Rohrabacher's assistant is the way he referred to the new U.S. Administration. It is common knowledge how expert the U.S. intelligence agencies are in carrying out Washington's decision or in clandestinely sending weapons to other countries without the knowledge of the American people. For instance, the illegal way arms are delivered to

the antigovernment forces in Nicaragua comes to mind here. While on this topic, UPI says Oliver North—the key man in that arms scandal—was an active supporter for Rohrabacher, calling on Californians to vote for that congressman in the last elections. Another example to cite here is the amount of money given to the CIA in dispatching arms to the Khmer opposition forces via Thailand. Facts relating to this were exposed only recently. The CIA money scandal reveals not only the method the United States uses in supporting the rebels and secessionists in foreign countries but also how the clandestine aid can even be used against those employed by the U.S. intelligence agencies. THE WASHINGTON POST accused Thai generals of swindling funds meant for the Khmer opposition groups, and thereby lowering the prestige of the Thai Army.

Thailand is therefore concerned that it will be used as a staging ground for the supply of weapons to Burma. From the looks of it, there is concern in Thailand and among some Burmese circles that Burma will turn into another source of tension in Southeast Asia. It appears that was the reason why Thailand decided to expand economic cooperation with Burma at a time when the United States and many other countries are imposing an economic boycott. The NEW YORK TIMES says Thai authorities believe that widening the trade and economic links with Burma will contribute to stability in that country as well as correctly guide the direction that Burma takes.

In sum, sources in the United States say they are interested in the development of democracy in Burma and, at the same time, also hint they are ready to help the forces taking up the armed struggle which is hampering the preparations for the elections. Although it appears that this is difficult to understand, it is quite easy to do so. It means that some circles in the United States believe in the saying—it's easier to fish in muddy waters—and are hence trying to muddle up things in Burma.

Observer Views Paris Meetings on Cambodia

BK2211035188 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Commentary by station observer Vasiliy Fedorov]

[Text] The meeting between the leaders of Cambodia's three political forces, held recently near Paris, has elicited mixed reactions. According to some, this meeting has brought a new impetus to the search for peace in Cambodia. Others think that no changes have been made at all. Yet another group seemed to have difficulty even expressing its own view and reluctantly conceded history will be the judge.

Regarding this, our observer Comrade Vasiliy Fedorov has the following comment:

I have always closely monitored the opinion expressed on the tripartite meeting, and I have noted that pessimistic, negative evaluations mostly flow from circles which are not directly involved in the Cambodian conflict. For this reason, my guess is that we should, at the least, rely on the views of those who were directly taking part in the talks. There were three participants, namely Comrade Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian government; Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, former Cambodian head of state; and Son Sann, former prime minister. What is their opinion on the talks?

Comrade Hun Sen certainly was satisfied with the outcome of the meeting. He talked about the importance of the decision to set up a permanent working group to find a solution to the Cambodian problem. This committee will meet in Paris. Moreover, it was also agreed that another summit meeting would be held next year. In this connection, Comrade Hun Sen also expressed his satisfaction. The comrade chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers said, for instance: We have had differences of opinion with each other, and these differences of opinion continue to exist. However, they are not an excuse to be terrified of each other. This opinion was clearly stated.

How about the other participants, what is their opinion? Theirs is also very important for us in order to understand the prevailing situation despite the fact that those who can be directly traced to either Samdech Sihanouk or Mr Son Sann have often regarded the Paris meeting as hopeless. Samdech Sihanouk's official representative and son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh said, among other things: What is important is that it has now become a tradition to hold tripartite summit meetings. Another encouraging fact is that we have been able to find more and more common grounds. It is true that Samdech Sihanouk himself has admitted that the existing problem is complex. Nevertheless, the samdech himself only brought up points which inspire nothing but hope, which are constructive.

More quiet than anyone else about the meeting's outcome is Mr Son Sann. This, maybe, is because his group is smaller and less influential than the others. For this same reason, the press has not been very attentive to his statements. Mr Son Sann, in his declaration, only noted that the situation remains unchanged, or in other words, in a deadlock. However, he himself could not deny the significance of the meeting. He said, for instance, that even since the first tripartite meeting a number of issues have been discussed.

As a conclusion based on the views expressed by the three Cambodian parties, it is obvious that the talks will be resumed, and certainly through this as a way that, according to the opinion of those taking part in the Paris meeting, will ultimately lead toward a solution to the Cambodian conflict.

Lao-Soviet Cooperation Panel Meets in Vientiane

PM2111165988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Facets of Cooperation"]

[Text] Vientiane, 20 Nov—A scheduled session of the Lao-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation was held here 18-20 November.

It devoted particular attention to the implementation of the accords reached at the summit meetings in October-November 1987. The sides spoke in favor of enhancing the effectiveness of economic cooperation by concentrating efforts and resources on areas and projects most important to the Lao national economy and of improving the mechanism of cooperation and developing its new forms, which include the formation of joint enterprises and the establishment of direct production ties. A complex of practical measures has been agreed on to remove any obstacles holding back the development of these forms of cooperation. The sides recognized the expediency of broadening the practice of barter deals and also agreements in freely convertible currency.

When discussing questions concerning the coordination of Soviet and Lao state plans for 1991-1995, the sides reached the opinion that targeted programs for cooperation in individual sectors of the economy must be drawn up.

The Soviet delegation, led by V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was received by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao Council of Ministers.

New Zealand Deputy Prime Minister Ends Visit

LD1911071788 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Text] Khabarovsk November 19 TASS—Today Geoffrey Palmer, New Zealand deputy prime minister, departed from the USSR. He stayed in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Near East & South Asia

Western Stances on PNC Resolution Compared

LD1811183888 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Aleksandr Timoshkin commentary]

[Text] I would not be exaggerating if I said that the resolutions of the Palestine National Council [PNC] extraordinary session in Algiers are still attracting the world's attention and have become a subject of minute analysis for the media of many countries. Naturally, the position toward the session's resolutions, such as the proclamation of the independent Palestinian state and recognizing UN Resolution 242, is that there are more positive reactions than negative ones.

For example, take the West European countries. These countries, in varying degrees, positively assess the PNC resolutions and consider them to be an important constructive step toward establishing peace in the Middle East through purely political means. Even Britain, the greatest ally of the United States, considers the PNC resolutions as a small step toward establishing peace in the region. This was announced by Margaret Thatcher during her visit to the United States. The British prime minister, to some extent, wriggled out of the negative stance of Washington toward this issue, despite her renewal of London's permanent loyalty toward the alliance with the United States. British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe expressed a more specific stance toward the issue of a Middle East settlement, including the Palestinian issue, and called on the Israeli authorities to agree to the idea of holding an international conference. Sir Geoffrey Howe announced this during his meeting with the new Israeli ambasador to London. France, Italy, Greece, the FRG, and the other West European countries adopted similar stances.

I would like to point out that some U.S. media organs do not share Washington's negative attitude toward the constructive resolutions of the PNC and believe that the U.S. Administration should not only accept the olive branch presented to it by the Palestinians, but should force Israel to do the same. USA TODAY wrote along these lines and THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR also calls for this. Naturally, we should not exaggerate such statements, as official Washington has for a long time been following a policy that is blatantly pro-Israel. We should also take into consideration the influence of the U.S. Zionist organizations there.

However, I think that the new administration, headed by George Bush, the President elect, will not avoid adopting a more realistic course, which is encouraged by the great international isolation of U.S. policies in the region. The international reactions to the PNC resolutions indicate that the isolation of the United States and Israel, because of their anti-Arab policies, will escalate and become more critical for these two strategic allies.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to remind you that the Soviet Union is the first among the superpowers to recognize the independence of the Palestinian state. This is natural, because the Soviet Union always does its utmost to secure the victory of the just cause of the Palestinian people and all Arab peoples, and for the victory of justice, permanent peace, and security for all states in the region.

PLO Envoy Holds News Conference in Moscow

LD2211140388 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The decisions of the extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Algiers, which proclaimed the creation

of an independent Palestinian state, were viewed by the overwhelming majority of countries as a powerful impetus to the struggle of the Palestinians for the peaceful settlement in the Middle East, PLO representative in the USSR Nabil 'Umar told a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists here. He said that some 50 countries had officially declared they recognised the Palestinian state and their number was growing. No doubt, Nabil 'Umar said, that the recognition by the Soviet Union of the Palestinian state on the basis of the principle of balanced interests is a most important positive factor of the peaceful settlement in the Middle East. He noted that the USSR was the first permanent member of the U.N. Security Council to officially recognise the Palestinian state.

The PLO representative welcomed the continuation of the USSR-USA dialogue, especially in as regards the search for settling regional problems, including the Middle Eastern ones. The Soviet position, he stressed, is a reflection of the need for the earliest solution of regional conflicts.

He voiced the hope for a more profound understanding on the part of the U.S. Administration of the initiatives of the Palestinian people who stated their striving for peace at the PNC session in Algiers by accepting Resolutions 242 and 338.

"We advanced a new political programme," the PLO spokesman said, "which takes account of the balance of forces in the Middle East and the national aspirations of Palestinians."

A situation emerged at present, he said, when Israel finds itself increasingly isolated because of its political course. The Israeli leadership should embrace the new political thinking and understand that only talks could lead to stable peace in the Middle East.

Nabil 'Umar called attention to the fact that Israel had not yet defined its borders. The question of concrete borders of the countries of the region will be taken up at the peace conference and the PLO insists on it, he stressed.

Touching upon the question of forming a Palestinian government, Nabil 'Umar said that the creation of the government was postponed till a more appropriate moment so that the PLO would have enough time to prepare properly for solving the problems it was facing. He expressed the opinion that the Palestinian government should include representatives of all patriotic forces of the Arab people of Palestine.

Indian Public, Press Welcome Gorbachev Visit

PM2211145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondents V. Baykov and O. Kitsenko dispatch: "Sincere Feelings"]

[Text] Delhi, 19 Nov—The Indian people have been giving Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev a cordial and hospitable welcome. He has been received, as the Delhi newspaper PATRIOT put it as an "envoy of peace and a friend of India." It can be said without exaggeration that the visit is at the center of the country's entire social life.

The Soviet guest has been receiving numerous greetings telegrams and letters from Indian citizens. "Through you I want to thank the entire Land of the Soviets for all the good it has done and is doing for my motherland," 13-year-old Delhi schoolgirl S. Sunil wrote in a letter to M.S. Gorbachev published in the press today. All of the messages express feelings of sincere friendship toward the Land of the Soviets. This was reflected by an opinion poll in India: Some 96 percent of those polled stated that the Soviet Union is a great friend of India.

It is hard to convey the emotion and friendship currently being shown toward the Soviet Union and Soviet people in the Indian capital. I remember the exciting meeting held today in the big Vigyan Bhavan Auditorium, where M.S. Gorbachev was presented with the Indira Gandhi Prize for peace, disarmament, and development. The presentation ceremony was yet another manifestation of the warmth and cordiality which increasingly define relations between our two countries' peoples.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit is the main subject in the Indian press. There have been front-page reports on the warmth of the reception accorded the Soviet guests by the inhabitants of the Indian capital, photographs of M.S. Gorbachev with the Indian leaders who greeted him, and detailed versions of the speeches exchanged by the two countries' presidents at the banquet given in the Soviet guest's honor.

Newspapers are particularly highlighting in M.S. Gorbachev's speech the fact that he has resolutely swept aside the claims made by certain circles that the Soviet Union is "changing its priorities and cooling toward India."

"I do not consider such totally unfounded and clearly speculative arguments worthy of rebuttal," the local press cited the Soviet emissary, spotlighting the part of his speech where he said that Soviet-Indian friendship is based on firm foundations and has nothing to do with transient ideas and calculations. "India and the Soviet Union," the INDIAN EXPRESS newspaper wrote, "have reaffirmed their firm adherence to the cause of further developing their relations, which have been raised to a qualitatively new level in recent years."

Significance of Delhi Declaration Noted

PM2311113388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "USSR-India: By Force of Example"]

[Text] Two years ago the leaders of the USSR and India issued the well-known Delhi Declaration and an appeal to build a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

Two years—just two orbits in the earth's eternal movement around the sun. But in that time the principles that were proclaimed have already made a perceptible and encouraging mark on mankind's consciousness. It is in contacts between the USSR and India—states representing one-fifth of the world's population—that much of what is now called the new political thinking and the philosophy of survival in the nuclear and space age was first produced.

And now we have M.S. Gorbachev's latest and recently ended visit to India and the fruitful meeting summarizing the results of what has been achieved, demonstrating the strategic farsightedness of the goals which were set, and offering new prospects. The events of the past 2 years have shown that the Delhi Declaration has had a positive influence on the political climate in the world. The juggernaut of nuclear death, having built up tremendous momentum, has begun to slow down. An international verification mechanism has appeared in a sphere which once seemed absolutely inviolable. The growth of regional centers of tension has been slowed down. In world politics, dialogue, which has begun to oust confrontational methods, has gained a new quality. As was noted in Delhi, it is important to ensure that the positive processes which have begun—in nuclear disarmament, the settlement of conflict situations, and the strengthening of trust among states—have gained elements of irreversibility.

By the force of their example the USSR and India—states with different sociopolitical systems—are helping to establish the principles of peaceful coexistence, pointing the way to demilitarization and the democratization and humanization of international relations, and hindering the trends toward nuclear catastrophe. The USSR and India view the modern interdependent world as mankind's common home. They are unanimous in the view that militarism, policy from a position of strength, and the division of the world into military alliances are becoming outmoded and that there must be no military bases or strongholds outside national borders.

The results of the latest Soviet-Indian summit in Delhi, just like the previous one, far exceed the framework of bilateral relations. Their international aspect—the global and the regional—is of great significance. For each people universal peace begins on its own doorstep. So it is natural that the participants in these Delhi talks, just like last time, should have paid great attention to security in Asia and the Pacific and Indian oceans.

The initiatives announced in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, as the Soviet leader stated in the Indian capital, are an invitation to all interested states, including, of course, the United States, to seek jointly to improve the situation in the region. Here the Soviet Union is counting particularly on India's understanding and cooperation, without which the problems of the Asia and Pacific region are insoluble.

This is also true of another great state—China. Encouraging improvements are taking place in relations between Moscow and Beijing. Clearly, a Soviet-Chinese summit is near. It is gratifying that changes for the better have been observed in Indian-Chinese relations, too. The peoples will remember that the five principles of peaceful coexistence were first formulated by India and China. When you consider such countries as the Soviet Union, India, and China you cannot help thinking that good-neighborliness between them is exceptionally important for the destiny of Asia and for world progress.

Relations between the Soviet Union and India are determined by a similarity and, on many questions, a coincidence of views on the point and aims of world progress. Trust and the commitment not to undertake any actions which could cause real harm to the other side's interests are based on the Treaty on Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation, the Delhi Declaration, and long-standing traditions of mutual benevolence. Thus the speculative talk that the Soviet Union is changing its priorities and that it is almost losing interest in India is groundless and malevolent. Soviet-Indian friendship is not founded on any transient considerations or calculations. Cooperation between the USSR and India has a firm foundation and is no obstacle to the development of their relations with third countries.

Of course, the international potential of cooperation between the USSR and India is all the more significant as their bilateral relations become more meaningful. Regular summit meetings have given unprecedented dynamism to Soviet-Indian relations. The sides are striving to fully reveal the new potential which is arising as a result of the modernization and changes in the USSR and Indian national economies.

Recent intergovernmental agreements, which were substantially augmented just recently in Delhi, make it possible to give Soviet-Indian cooperation a new quality. To be specific—they make it possible to switch from the priority exchange of goods to production sharing and the creation of joint enterprises; to develop by joint efforts new technologies and materials and new agrotechnical methods; to work together in tapping new sources of energy; and to conduct research in the leading areas of science.

The expanding contacts among people have become a most important factor for strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship recently. This was most clearly expressed in the unprecedentedly large-scale Indian festival in the USSR and USSR festival in India. These were truly festivals of the people dedicated to two most important dates of the 20th century: the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 40th anniversary of India's independence. The festivals clearly highlighted the sincere interest and respect which the Soviet and Indian peoples have for each other, the desire for contact, knowledge of each other's manners and customs, and a desire to compare their problems and

cares with the circumstances of life in a great and friendly country and draw lessons for themselves. Art is the soul of the people and has the capacity to show how people view the world, what they consider good and evil, and what they see as the point of life.

As unique events in our countries' cultural lives, the festivals were an instructive example of people's diplomacy. They demonstrated a simple truth of importance to everyone: Broad contact among people of different countries strengthens the idea of the unity of the human family and the sense of interdependence. Familiarity with the culture of other peoples teaches people how to live in a multifaceted but integrated world. Trust, mutual understanding, and a readiness for cooperation on the basis of each people's sovereign choice of its way of life, help to create an all-embracing system of international security and thereby save mankind from the threat of self-destruction.

The top-level Soviet-Indian statement signed recently in Delhi stresses that the Soviet Union and India are fully resolved to continue developing and deepening their relations in all spheres. Their consistent development serves the interests of the two countries' peoples and is an important factor for peace, security, and development in Asia and throughout the world. The path travelled in the past 2 years from Delhi to Delhi is graphic evidence of that.

Pakistani Nuclear Program Assessed

PM1811104188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[First in series of articles by Major General (Reserve) F. Gontar: "Positions and Ambitions. Will It Be Possible To Prevent the Spread of Nuclear Weapons?"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] One of the most important places in ensuring international security and strategic stability is occupied by the problem of removing the nuclear threat—which is connected, in particular, with the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. This problem is becoming particularly acute under conditions when the group of so-called "near-nuclear" states is emerging increasingly clearly. Today we begin publishing a series of articles on some countries which are really close to creating their own nuclear weapons—which is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences for world peace and international security.

I. Pakistan: According to "Project 706"

More than 130 states are parties to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which came into force in 1970. However, approximately 40 countries still remain outside its ambit. They include Pakistan, which does not hide its nuclear ambitions.

Work on creating its own nuclear weapons is in full swing in that country. This is evidenced by numerous facts which have emerged relating to secret purchases by Islamabad of corresponding materials, equipment, and technology. Thus the Indian newspaper NATIONAL HERALD reported the loss of a large consignment of heavy water in the course of transportation from Norway to the FRG organized by the Pakistani special service. Pakistan needed heavy water to start up production of deuterium, which is an important material for increasing the yield of nuclear charges. A major scandal erupted in Belgium last year in connection with the fact that containers of nuclear materials were illegally exported to Pakistan from the nuclear research center in the city of Mol (an enterprise for enriching uranium by the centrifugal separation method operates there). This dangerous "leak of nuclear technology" was announced at the time at a press conference in Brussels by L. Tindemans, Belgian minister of external relations. Early this year West Germany's DER SPIEGEL published an article exposing illegal sales of enriched uranium to Pakistan by the "Nuchem" and "Transnuklear" companies.

All these are recent events. But back in 1976-1979 equipment, important assemblies and components, and technical documentation on gas centrifuges were secretly exported to Pakistan from West European states (the Netherlands, FRG, and Great Britain). On the basis of this equipment a plant for the production of both "weapons-grade" uranium and the less enriched uranium for nuclear power stations was built at the science-and-production nuclear center at Kahuta (30 km east of Rawalpindi). According to THE WASHINGTON POST, at the Kahuta gas centrifuge plant the level of enrichment in terms of uranium-235 exceeds 90 percent, which makes it suitable for use in nuclear munition charges.

The Pakistani nuclear scientists found something "to satisfy their appetites" in America too. THE NEW YORK TIMES reported that in the course of 1982-1983 the Pakistani company "Aftab Brothers" delivered four secret consignments of supermodern computer equipment and oscilloscopes, used in designing atom bomb trigger components and detonators, to Pakistan from the United States via Hong Kong. And in 1986 Islamabad succeeded in acquiring in the United States a large batch of high-speed electronic devices —krytrons—which were delivered to the nuclear center in Kahuta and have already been used there in tests of trigger mechanisms intended for use in nuclear munitions.

The aforementioned details and other information which has come to light in recent years graphically testify that the Islamabad authorities are persistently creating a scientific and industrial base capable of producing their own nuclear weapons. This is further borne out by the fact that Pakistan's second nuclear center has been set up in the vicinity of Kundian city, where a radiochemical plant is being built to recover plutonium from uranium rods irradiated in nuclear reactors. When this plant goes

into operation, Pakistan will be able to recover plutonium obtained during the operation of nuclear power stations on an industrial scale. At present a nuclear power station with a capacity of up to 140,000 kilowatts is in operation near Karachi. A second such power station with a capacity of up to 900,000 kilowatts is being built at Kundian and will also operate on natural uranium. Under specific operational conditions, the nuclear reactors at the power stations can produce plutonium suitable for use in nuclear weapons.

Practical work on the manufacture of individual nuclear munition components is concentrated at the nuclear center in Kahuta, at the nuclear science and technology institute at Nilor (40 km from Islamabad), and at the defense complex at Wah where a subunit for the development of a nuclear charge device [yadernoye zaryadnoye ustroystvo] has been set up.

So a closed technological cycle capable of producing limited amounts of nuclear munitions is being set up in Pakistan. Abdul Kadir Khan, chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, admitted in an interview to the British weekly THE OBSERVER that his country "in fact already has an atom bomb. It is not essential to test it in natural conditions. A nuclear explosion can be simulated in a laboratory." And here is how the late Zia ul-Haq formulated the Islamabad regime's nuclear ambitions in an interview with TIME magazine: "When you have the technology which Pakistan has, you can do anything you like with it." The meaning of "anything you like" was explained by the Delhi newspaper STATESMAN: "As regards a real threat," the newspaper emphasized, "India is the target against which Pakistan nuclear weapons could be used first and foremost."

And so the Islamabad leadership, refusing to accede to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, is doing everything to complete the program to start up series production of the "Islamic" nuclear bomb. This program is based on "Project 706," which was adopted more than 10 years ago.

The fact that the U.S. Administration, despite Pakistan's nuclear ambitions, continues to provide it with large-scale military and economic assistance is attracting attention. While in 1981-1986 this assistance totaled $3.2 billion, under the new deal Islamabad will receive military and economic aid in excess of $4 billion during the following 6-year period. The lion's share of this influx of dollars will be used to pay for deliveries of the latest U.S. offensive weapons, including nuclear-capable F-16 fighter bombers, the latest "Abrams" M-1 tanks, "Cobra" fire support helicopters, "Copperhead" laser-guided artillery shells, warships, radioelectronic apparatus, and other most modern means of armed struggle. With U.S. assistance Pakistan has essentially been transformed into a kind of vast Pentagon arsenal in the south of the Asian Continent.

All this is happening in circumvention of the "Symington Amendment," which prohibits military and economic assistance to countries that are developing their own nuclear weapons. This cannot but appear as a duplicitous stance on the part of Washington. While paying lipservice to observance of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, describing it even as the "cornerstone of U.S. policy," by supplying Islamabad with massive military assistance it is in practice encouraging its nuclear ambitions. This is happening because Washington regards Pakistan as one of the main bridgeheads in its globalist strategy aimed at exerting direct military pressure on the states of South and Southwest Asia and countries around the Persian Gulf. From the Pakistani bridgehead, the Pentagon strategists want to keep a vast area of the world, including the Indian Ocean zone, in their sights. And it is impossible not to heed the voice of those foreign observers who have reached the conclusion that Washington is ready to sacrifice the principle of the "nonproliferation of nuclear weapons" for the sake of keeping Pakistan in the sphere of its unlimited influence. By behaving in this way, Washington is contributing to the destabilization of the situation in South Asia and far beyond its confines and is creating an explosive situation there.

'Extremist' Afghan Rebel Hostilities Continue

PM1711164988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik under the rubric "Dispatch From Afghanistan": "Extremists Are Counting on Force"]

[Text] I feel bitter to have to say that the war in Afghanistan is still running its "bloody riot." It takes dozens of lives every day. In October alone some 200 innocent citizens died as a result of shell attacks by the armed opposition and more than 500 were injured.

Afghan extremists are still increasing their rocket attacks. In the last few days alone residential areas in Gardeyz have been shelled with 400 missiles, and some 150 missiles have been fired on the provincial centers of Jalalabad, Qandahar, and Ghazni. Dozens of innocent citizens, including women and children, have died as a result and a large number of residential buildings have been destroyed.

Rebel opposition formations have also recently been concentrating their attacks on Soviet troop subunits. For example, on Sunday 13 November at 1402 local time, Soviet pilot quarters at Kabul Airport were heavily shelled with "surface to surface" missiles. Some 25 missiles were fired in the space of 1 hour. Observers used radio to hone the accuracy of the attack. Ten pilots were killed and 20 wounded. Ground-attack aircraft launched a counterattack, which destroyed the rebel fire positions and also the enemy observers.

In these difficult conditions the Republic of Afghanistan's armed forces are continuing to work with units of the limited contingent of Soviet troops to carry out counterattacks against armed opposition formations, also using the Soviet missiles which recently came into service in the Afghan Army.

In a conversation with a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Major General Muhammad Zair Sulemal [name as transliterated], Afghan Army artillery chief of staff, stressed that the extremists have been repeatedly warned of the need to cease their rocket attacks on the Afghan capital and other cities and population centers in the country. However, incited by their Pakistani masters, the rebels are continuing their barbaric actions. Consequently, antimissile attacks have become acts of just retribution. To date the Afghan Army has carried out more than 30 missile attacks on the main base regions and powerful arms depots located in the highly inaccessible mountain ranges close to the Afghan-Pakistani border. These base regions are located in the ravines of Marulgad, Melova, Malavala, and Makhmandara [names as transliterated].

I must point out, Major General M.Z. Sulemal said in conclusion, that our missile attacks are directed exclusively against concentrated areas of arms and equipment in rebel base regions and not against urban residential areas, as the extremists constantly do. If the rebels do not cease their shell attacks on cities and villages, we will continue to carry out counter bomb assault raids and missile attacks in order to defend our territorial integrity and national sovereignty and repel aggression.

The armed opposition is also continuing with other combat operations. The first half of November has been characterized by heightened activity on the part of rebel formations in the Provinces of Qandahar, Herat, Kabul, Ghazni, Balkh, and others. In the Faryab Province, for example, which is in the north of the country, rebels from a group known as the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" have made several attempts to seize the main security posts in the "green zone" for a subsequent offensive against the province's administrative center—the city of Meymaneh. In the period 1-10 November alone, some 100 rocket projectiles and mines and more than 70 grenades were used against security posts. Ammunition and heavy weapons are being secretly smuggled into the province from Pakistan. At the same time, rebel formations are trying to block the main routes along which food is brought into Meymaneh and other regions of the province.

The armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan are repelling the enemy. As is well known, troops under the command of Lieutenant General 'Abdul Ghafar, first deputy chief of General Staff, defeated rebel formations in the Towr Kham region and freed the road to Jalalabad.

...While more and more Afghans representing various strata of the population are in favor of the Afghan government's constructive proposals to develop dialogue with opposition leaders and reach acceptable compromises in the interests of peace and security in the country, the more uncompromising extremists are relying solely on force of arms. It is clear that this is not the way to seek a solution to Afghanistan's internal problems.

Shcherbina Comments on Visit to PDRY

LD2211153688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Aden, 22 Nov (TASS)—A Soviet Government delegation headed by Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex of the USSR Council of Ministers, has arrived here. At Aden International Airport the delegation was met by Salih Abu Bakr ibn Husaynun, PDRY deputy prime minister and minister for energy and minerals, and other officials.

The aim of the visit, the head of the delegation told an ANA correspondent, is to get acquainted with the oil situation in Democratic Yemen and with the development of the country's oil industry, which is exceedingly important for the development of oil fields here and, he noted, began last year; since the beginning of this year this work has been conducted on the basis of mutual efforts by Yemeni and Soviet specialists.

TEHRAN TIMES 'Fabrications' Criticized

NC1811133288 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Text] Recently the TEHRAN TIMES published articles attacking the Soviet Union's policy on Iran. Our commentator, Igor Sheftunov, writes on this:

The TEHRAN TIMES has published a collection of fabrications which include both attacks on the Soviet Union's stand on the Iran-Iraq war and slanders on the so-called intervention by our country in Iran's domestic affairs. What can be said of this?

As you know, from the very outset of the Iran-Iraq war, the Soviet Union called for its termination and described it as meaningless and fratricidal. Life fully proved the correctness of this policy. The war led to the deaths of more than 1 million Iranians and Iraqis, and inflicted immense damage on both sides. The continuation of this war could have had unforeseen consequences. Thus, the Soviet Union tirelessly strived toward ending the war.

Our country, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, undertook a prominent role in the compilation and approval of Resolution 598 by this international

forum. This resolution foresees a political solution to the war. The implementation of this resolution led to the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front and to the commencement of peaceful talks.

It is very clear that such a process is not favored by the editors of the TEHRAN TIMES. One can well understand why. For years this newspaper called for war until complete victory, and it was not at all ashamed of the fact that this actually meant war to the last Iranian and Iraqi. Naturally, both countries, like the entire world, rejected such an unwise policy and warmly welcomed the cease-fire and the commencement of the Iran-Iraq peace talks.

As for the TEHRAN TIMES' slander on the Soviet Union's so-called intervention in Iran's domestic affairs, it should be said that even the Iranian news agency, when disseminating this fabrication, had to add that these inventions were not confirmed by reliable sources. The source of the TEHRAN TIMES' anti-Soviet fabrications is the shortsighted interests of those circles in Iran and abroad that do not favor equal rights based on the principle of good-neighborly relations with Iran and Iraq [as heard] in which positive progress could be seen recently.

During their recent meetings, the representatives of Iran and of the Soviet Union mutually expressed the wish to expand cooperation between our two countries in various fields. This cooperation is carried out on the basis of principles of mutual benefit and non-intervention in each other's domestic affairs. Preparations for the formation of the 11th session of the standing committee of Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation are being completed. This session is to be held next month. The development and expansion of commercial relations with the Soviet Union is of great value for the consolidation of Iran's economic independence.

Igor Sheftunov writes in conclusion: I believe that all this does not conform to the interests of specific circles both in Iran and abroad. They want to spread the seeds of enmity toward the Soviet Union in Iran and to exploit this artificial hostility to achieve their shortsighted objectives.

Igor Sheftunov adds: In my opinion, part of the anti-Soviet fabrications published in the TEHRAN TIMES stem from these same objectives.

Iran, USSR Sign Joint Transport Accord

LD2211222288 Tehran IRNA in English 1835 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Tehran, Nov 22, IRNA—The Irano-Soviet Joint Transport Company is to open a branch office in Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan.

The agreement was reached in Moscow yesterday between Soviet Railways Minister Nikolay S. Konarev and Iran's Foreign Ministry Director-General for European Affairs Mahmoud Vaezi.

It was also agreed that Iranian trucks will ply across the Astara border town as far as Baku.

Konarev appreciating the positive trend of Tehran-Moscow talks announced USSR's readiness to further expand relations with Iran in various fields.

Sub-Saharan Africa

South Africa's Nuclear Potential Viewed

LD2311044188 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Luanda November 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksander Korzun:

A picturesque locality Valindaba is situated 50 kilometres west of South Africa's Capital, Pretoria. But far from everyone can enjoy its beauty. A complicated system closes Valindaba to the outer world. A plant for the production of enriched uranium has been functioning there since 1977. Western experts are of the opinion that strategic raw material produced at the plant is enough for at least 20 nuclear charges.

The world public has long been expressing concern over the possibility of South Africa's militarist leaders getting nuclear weapons. This concern becomes ever more reasonable specifically in connection with the fact that leaders of the state of apartheid have been stubbornly refusing to admit experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) so they could inspect a uranium enrichment plant.

Pretoria's Western allies encourage its nuclear aspirations. A large part of South African uranium is exported to the United States, Britain, France and the FRG. Abraham Roux, former director of the South African Atomic Energy Board admitted that the success of South African atomic power is largely due to the United States which gave assistance to the Republic of South Africa in the first years of the existence of its nuclear programme in the training of personnel and solution of many other problems. According to the information of JOURNAL DE ANGOLA, more than 100 South African specialists in nuclear technology underwent training in the USA from 1957 to 1975.

The West German "DER SPIEGEL" writes that the Republic of South Africa supplies part of enriched uranium to Israel and receives various kinds of armaments, including Jericho missiles and Kfir fighter-planes, in return. The magazine is of the opinion that a "flare" registered in one of the areas of the South Atlantic in September 1979 was a result of a test of an atomic bomb by Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

In this connection the Angolan press writes that the possession of nuclear weapons by the state of apartheid would further involve independent African countries in the disastrous arms race and could have catastrophic consequences for peoples of the whole world.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Angola Accord
LD1911060888 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Next in the African service of Radio Moscow, an interview with the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Anatoliy Adamishin, who will comment on the situation in southern Africa. And first, as an introduction, good news has come from Geneva. At the latest round of talks between Angola, Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, with the mediation of the United States, the last unsolved issue has been agreed upon and a package of accords on a schedule for the pullout of Cuban troops from Angola. This package includes a tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, a bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba, and an accord about the supervision by the United Nations. The Soviet deputy foreign minister, Anatoliy Adamishin, will speak about these talks and about the role of the Soviet Union in solving this hot issue of the present world situation.

[Begin Adamishin recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The accord agreed on in Switzerland should now get the approval by the governments of the countries that took part in the talks. If it is acceptable for all the sides, officials from all these countries will meet again, this time in the capital of the Congo, to sign the Brazzaville protocol about the completion of the talks. The entire package of agreements will be signed at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. This will emphasize not only the important role of the United Nations in defusing the conflict in southern Africa but also the rising importance of this organization as a whole in settling international problems.

Although there may yet be difficulties on the path to a final settlement of the situation in that part of the world the accords reached in Geneva are a doubtless success. The participants in the talks displayed political realism and a will to find mutually acceptable solutions with due account for the interests of all the parties in the conflict.

Of course, the general positive changes in the world greatly influenced progress at the talks, I mean the fact that the leaders of most countries have realized the need to give up obsolete stereotypes and are moving over to the position of new political thinking. [end recording]

And now our question to the deputy foreign minister about the participation, if any, of the Soviet Union in the Geneva talks.

[Begin recording] [Adamishin] From the very beginning the Soviet Union supported the talks and favored attainment of a fair solution. An unofficial Soviet observer attended all the rounds of the talks. Of course, the Soviet Union's role was not reduced to just sending this unofficial observer. Soviet diplomats actively exchanged views with various states involved in the conflict.

[Interviewer] Does that mean that Soviet officials had contacts with representatives of South Africa? If they did, how does that tally with the official Soviet policy of boycotting South Africa?

[Adamishin] The Soviet Union is still upholding its decision to boycott the racist South African regime. However, that does not mean we should be unaware of that country's stand on such an important issue as the situation in southern Africa. By the way, one can also notice certain changes in that country's policies. The Republic of South Africa has pulled out its troops from Angola. True, it did so under pressure of the world public. The South African authorities have agreed to setting up special check points for the observance of the military disengagement on the border with Angola. Besides that, they have agreed to withdraw their troops from Namibia if a package of agreements is signed.

We made no secret of our contacts with South African officials; the contacts were unknown. More than that, we even consulted the Frontline States and SWAPO about such contacts. There was no friction in these consultations. This is the more important considering the well-known fact that the Soviet Union has expressed readiness to be a guarantor of the future agreements along with the other permanent member nations of the United Nations Security Council. [end recording]

Ethiopian Greeting on Treaty Anniversary
PM2211111188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message from Ethiopian party, government leading bodies to Soviet leaders on treaty anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

The Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and the Ethiopian Council of State and Council of Ministers cordially congratulate you, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Soviet Government on the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union.

This important event allows us to assess the successes achieved in relations between our two countries and peoples based on this political document.

Over the last 10 years the treaty has not only raised all-around cooperation between our countries to a qualitatively new level—as attested to by the conclusion of many agreements in various areas—but has reliably served the interests of our two countries in maintaining peace and international security.

The long-standing relations between our countries have been developed at an accelerated rate thanks to the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, and its spirit should continue to be maintained for the good not only of Ethiopia and the Soviet Union, but of the entire world.

Experiencing profound satisfaction at our fruitful and constantly growing multifaceted cooperation, we would like to express the firm conviction that the years ahead will witness the further expansion of cooperation between Ethiopia and the USSR in all spheres in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

[Signed] The Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee

The Ethiopian Council of State

The Ethiopian Council of Ministers

East Europe

PZPR's Czyrek on Reforms, Roundtable

PM2211120888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by J. Czyrek, member of the PZPR Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee: "Reforms and Prospects"]

[Text] Warsaw, November—Seven years ago, in the dramatically difficult conditions of the most profound and extensive crisis in the history of People's Poland, a crisis that affected all spheres of life, the Ninth PZPR Congress adopted a decision on the implementation of profound political and economic reforms and put forward the slogan of socialist renewal. The party criticized negative phenomena in the country's life and in its own ranks and declared its intention to carry out far-reaching changes aimed at freeing socialist building from demagogic and voluntarist distortions.

Unfortunately the domestic and external conditions of the day hampered the implementation of the course of renewal. The country was siezed by a wave of "wildcat" strikes. The destructive activity of antisocialist extremists with outside support who sought to undermine the foundations of the socialist system led to an economic crisis and the threat of destabilization of the state. In this situation the imposition of martial law was necessary not only in order to defend public and political order, but also in connection with the planned reforms.

In the period of martial law, despite the nature of emergency measures of this kind, the party fully maintained its will for renewal. Despite external pressure, restrictions, propaganda attacks, and the severe consequences of economic crisis, we never for a moment turned aside from the path of reforms. We not only remained loyal to the Ninth PZPR Congress line. At the 10th congress and Central Committee plenums in recent years we developed and enriched the program of socialist renewal and endowed it with a braoder scale and greater scope than was originally intended. We make no secret of the fact that restructuring and the new thinking proclaimed at the 27th CPSU Congress, which are being implemented consistently by the present leadership of the Communist Party and Land of the Soviets, created exceptionally favorable conditions for our renewal. They inspire the PZPR, like the other fraternal parties, to the boldest decisions.

It is no accident that I have stressed the consistency and continuing nature of this line in the conditions of the current debate in the party and society over the recent decisions, and particularly the wide understanding of the problem of the "roundtable." Some people think that under the influence of current events the PZPR is effecting a turn in its policy. That is not so. By carefully studying the documents of the 9th and 10th congresses and a number of Central Committee plenums, especially the 6th, 7th, and 8th, you can see for yourself that this is by no means a "new turn," it is a consistent implementation of the party's line. One cannot expect the implementation of the planned reforms to take place without hitches or conflicts in such exceptionally unfavorable conditions. But time, and especially the first stage of the reform, implemented in 1982-1986, have confirmed the correctness of our chosen path. The economy has begun to emerge from the crisis, labor productivity has increased, and the balance of the market and a number of other economic indicators have improved considerably. Thanks to the improved results of economic management, the people's mood is also gradually improving and optimism is growing, as public opinion research centers note.

However, in recent years there has been a clear slowing down and even a regression in the development of economic policy. The 10th PZPR Congress made a critical evaluation of this state of affairs. It adopted the concept of the second stage of reform, whose implementation was, however, too slow, being hampered by bureaucratic obstacles. Added to this, mistakes were made, with tangible consequences, especially in the sphere of prices and incomes policy. This, in turn, led to a sharp increase in inflation. In this situation, an unfavorable trend began to take shape last year in the working people's mood. In the second half of 1988, with the deteriorating situation in the economy, inflationary

phenomena, and the impoverishment of the market, public dissatisfaction turned into strikes. The source of this dissatisfaction, as the eighth Central Committee plenum noted, was not only the objective difficulties, but also indecisiveness and inefficiency in actions relating to the implementation of the reform.

No results perceptible to society were achieved in the removal of bureaucratic barriers, the elimination of incompetence and red tape, and the resolution of urgent social problems. There is increased fear that the economic policy adopted by the government in recent years is not helping to overcome the existing difficulties, and that the socioeconomic crisis will drag on. This led to sharp criticism of the government, resulting in the resignation of the government headed by Z. Messner and the Sejm's appointment of M. Rakowski to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The implementation of reforms of social and political life came up against a blockage and brake in the form of the old methods of operating, methods contrary to the principles of democratization. The projects, bold at their inception, became ensnared in all kinds of fetters or else lost their merits in the course of implementation. Basically we came to the conclusion—like the CPSU recently, as well as the MSZMP—that there is strong resistance to the necessary changes.

At the eighth plenum the party made an overall critical assessment of the course of implementation of economic and political reforms. In the concluding address by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, this assessment was transformed into a prospectus of radical changes.

We fully recognize the complexity of the situation we are in. Public dissatisfaction was and is exploited by forces that are trying to make political capital out of negating socialist renewal, out of its difficulties and failures. It is no accident that to this end they also make use of the inexperience, emotions, and extreme reactions of young people, who make up a significant proportion of the big enterprises' labor collectives. It was on these production units that the organizers of the recent strikes focused their attention.

From the outset the organs of power tried consistently to smooth out the conflicts arising at enterprises by means of talks and political actions, ruling out the use of force. We still believe that the most correct way to overcome our difficulties is dialogue and a patient search for ways of achieving consensus and understanding. This is of special significance in Poland's conditions. A very important matter is at stake—that of involving on the side of the party's policy all patriotic and constructive forces that are prepared to take part in the strengthening and development of the socialist motherland.

The ideas of dialogue and consensus that formed the basis of the 1980 August agreements are a firm principle in our policy. In line with this principle, in early 1988 the PZPR put forward the proposal to form a coalition of supporters of the reforms, a coalition of all forces interested in the country's stable development. This proposal met with a lively response not only in the party, but throughout society, including a significant proportion of those circles that had previously been in opposition. Despite the subsequent deterioration in the domestic situation, the PZPR has not abandoned this idea. On the contrary, it deemed it necessary to implement it without delay.

After the eighth plenum we began to develop the process of reforms and democratization far more resolutely. This is the PZPR's position: We must reckon with the social and political consequences of the differences of interests, views, and orientation that can be observed in our society. We unswervingly maintain the will to continue the democratic changes in Poland's political life, extend civil freedoms, and strengthen law and order. We are strengthening the alliance with the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. Associations of Catholics and lay Christians are taking part in this process.

We are prepared to establish businesslike dialogue with all forces that acknowledge the socialist system and Poland's state interests. But it should be a coalition that strengthens the country's stability, accelerates economic development, and eliminates the potential sources of disputes, not a platform for political confrontation.

These are the aims served by the initiative to hold a "roundtable" with the participation of representatives of social groups that have opposition sentiments or that distance themselves from the present policy of the party and government. The aim is to seek—in the conditions of the functioning of the socialist system—opportunities for involving constructive opposition in political, social, and economic life. It should be noted that what is meant is specifically constructive opposition, which recognizes constitutional principles and does not seek to change the social system or disrupt existing alliances.

The attainment of a broader national consensus should be accompanied by a growing awareness among the public that only a socialist Poland guarantees the people sovereign development, territorial integrity, and lasting security. Naturally, trying to set up this dialogue and create a coalition of supporters of reforming the socioeconomic system is not easy, because of the lack of any experience in this sphere not only in Poland, but throughout the socialist community. In our country particularly, in view of its social structure, the philosophical and political pluralism of society, and the historical legacy and stratification, this is an exceptionally difficult and complex task. We are fully aware of that, and we remember the words of V.I. Lenin, who warned that communists alone cannot build communism.

In Polish conditions the desire to secure understanding and support for the party's policy and its program is of key significance for the implementation of that program, and thus for the strengthening of socialism and the all-around exploitation of its potential. The aim of the "roundtable" is to bring the positions held by representatives of different groupings and forces closer to the main, priority issues of our state, social, and politico-economic life. This rapprochement could lead to the creation of a council of national consensus, which could form a broad coalition of supporters of the reforms, uniting all of society's active, patriotic forces, not excluding the constructive opposition. This council could also discuss the thrust of amendments to the election regulations and the question of the creation of a second chamber in the new parliament and the post of state president, as well as drawing up a shared election platform. The change in the regulations governing elections to the Sejm should make it possible to bring in representatives of the constructive opposition while at the same time guaranteeing a parliamentary structure that will ensure compliance with the constitutional principles of the system and the socialist orientation of Poland's development.

We are also planning to submit for discussion by the "roundtable" a package of draft versions of important reforms of the country's political, social, and economic life, making provision, in particular, for the modification of the system of social organizations and associations to promote compatibility between different social trends, currents, and interests. This also applies to the model of the Polish trade union movement and to enhancing its role in resolving issues that concern labor collectives. We want this movement to be an effective instrument for solving problems. Therefore we are resolutely opposed to attempts once again to legalize the former "Solidarity" in the form in which it existed prior to 1982. We cannot allow ourselves to repeat an experiment that led to a crisis situation that could only be overcome by means of martial law.

We also propose to involve the participants in the "roundtable" in work to perfect an economic model that will ensure the more effective implementation of reforms and the speediest attainment of economic equilibrium. Here we realize that the implementation of our intentions in the economic sphere is impossible without further deepening the process of democratization and achieving consensus. Experience shows that the lack of a comprehensive approach to reforms, treating the economy and politics as separate spheres, was one cause of our failures. The success of the program for national economic reform will depend largely on the depth of understanding, social approval, and activeness of the broadest masses.

We are aware that the path we have chosen is difficult and requires from our party the innovative formulation of a model of its own leading role and the strengthening of links with the working class and all the people. The renewal and strengthening of these ties is of key significance. We are devoting great attention to this matter, and we call on our comrades in the new government to pursue this activity in the socioeconomic sphere. The PZPR, from the organizational, political, ideological, and cadre viewpoints, is entirely capable of leading the current changes, acting as their main initiator, and defining their form.

Gdansk Shipyard Closure Examined

PM2211133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch under the rubric "We Reply to a Reader's Letter": "Is the Shipyard Really the Issue?"]

[Text] "Your newspaper has reported that the Polish Government has decided to close down the V.I. Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. What is the reason for this?

[Signed] "S. Gusev, Moscow"

Warsaw, Nov—Western news media and leaders of the underground structures of "Solidarity" in Poland itself never miss an opportunity—in articles, broadcasts, and oral statements on any topic—to allude to the "sore question" which has arisen in connection with the Polish Government's decision to close down the shipyard in Gdansk. Lech Walesa is making statements and giving interviews under the banner of demands stating the impermissibility of liquidating the yard. The situation is dramatized by being presented as an allegedly deliberate step by the authorities against "Solidarity," whose "headquarters," as is known, are based at precisely this shipbuilding enterprise which has become the stronghold, so to speak, of various strike actions. The "fate of thousands of workers" who will lose their jobs is emphasized. Following this logic, electrician Walesa will be out of work too.

The "Solidarity" leaders have put forward an ultimatium: If the decision to close down the shipyard is not withdrawn, they will refuse to attend the "roundtable" negotiations aimed at achieving broad national accord between the official authorities and various strata of the public, including opposition-minded groups.

But is this really what the question of the Gdansk shipyard closure is about? As is known, the new Polish Government headed by M. Rakowski made public from the very beginning that it would concentrate on three priority spheres in the development of the state economy—intensification of agriculture and the food industry, expansion of housing construction, and stepped up efforts in environmental protection. At the same time the liquidation of loss-making enterprises and substantial cuts in administrative personnel were cited among the main conditions to ensure a stabilization of the national economy. It should be noted that one of the first

measures adopted was the decision of the Polish Minister of Industry M. Wilczek to cut the apparatus of his ministry by 50 percent to begin with.

As you can see, the authorities began "with themselves." Obsolete instructions and regulations which excessively regulate and sometimes downright hamper the initiative of enteprises, cooperatives, and farm units, preventing them from organizing the production of food products and consumer goods, are being abolished in the country. At the same time conditions for the liquidation of around 100 unprofitable and run-down production capacities with utterly obsolete equipment are being elaborated.

It is common knowledge that shipbuilding, not just in Poland but in the world as a whole, is experiencing certain economic difficulties. Quite often large shipyards are being closed down in in various countries of both the West—particularly in Sweden—and East. Enterprises for the production of other goods are set up on their basis, sometimes even shipbuilding enterprises—but streamlined and specialized enterprises which can, if necessary, swiftly adjust their range and volume of output to new demand.

The shipyard in Gdansk absorbs multimillion subsidies from the state coffers every year. Of course, all this runs counter to the principles of the second stage of the economic reform which aims at self-sufficiency of all economic units. Incidentally, the idea to close the shipyard arose either yesterday or today. There was a plan to make it into a profitable enterprise, a plan elaborated by labor self-management cells and even "agreed" with Walesa! Experts have declared this program infeasible. The Italian newspaper IL MESSAGGERO wrote a few days ago: "The plan for the restructuring of the shipyard was wishful thinking and, frankly speaking, Walesa is deluding himself if he believes that the shipyard could be made profitable."

So what is the government proposing? According to the Polish press, the authorities have no intention of proceeding in the old way; they do not intend to demolish enterprises in one fell swoop and to "plow up" their sites. Take the selfsame shipyard, for instance. The process of its conversion to other production will extend over the whole of the coming year. In Gdansk and its vicinity there are several similar or allied enterprises, and this fact was taken into account; it means that jobs for the people who are going to be released will be guaranteed. Shops and other premises of the shipyard will be handed over to various departments and companies capable of organizing highly profitable production capacities here within a short time.

Applications for the acquisition of "fixed capital" are pouring in by the dozens. Among the applicants is the agricultural cooperative "Igloopol," which is known throughout Poland for its enterprising spirit and efficient work, and which wants to further develop its own processing base. It cannot be ruled out that among the number of companies and enterprises which are to be set up on the territory of the shipyard—some with the involvement of foreign capital—a new small shipyard may be established capable of swiftly reacting to changing demand in the international shipping market.

So, is the shipyard really the issue? Earlier we have witnessed the consistent implementation by the new government of the principles of national economic reform. At a recent press conference W. Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, speaking about structural changes and the liquidation of enterprises, noted that both bankruptcy and the creation of new production capacities are entirely natural phenomena in the economy of any country. There is an even more recent example: On the basis of a decision of the voivodship people's council and a demand from the inhabitants of Wroclaw, the Polish Council of Ministers resolved to close down the "Siechnice" metallurgical combine. This loss-making plant equipped with obsolete and worn-out equipment was overfulfilling the "plans" only as regards the emission of pollutants into the atmosphere. Here too it is planned to build a modern, ecologically clean metallurgical enterprise in the future.

The question may arise: Is it planned then to close down all poorly performing enterprises irrespective of the consequences? No one intends to proceed in this way. The economy calls for a balanced approach.

As mentioned earlier, there are some 100 enterprises in the country where it is necessary to adopt well-weighed but at the same time resolute measures without delay. According to J. Urban, the government press spokesman, various kinds of measures will be adopted, including not just the elimination of enterprises but also their conversion to other production, the breaking up of some enterprises into smaller units, and the merger of others, the establishment of joint stock associations and the creation of companies based on mixed capital.

This is what the interests of the stabilization of Poland's economy, and hence also the interests of the Polish people, demand.

West Europe

French Foreign Minister Cited on Arms, EC

LD1911191888 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Text] Paris November 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Yermakov:

A 50-per cent cut in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States should become the next step along the road of disarmament, Roland Dumas, French minister of state, minister of foreign affairs, has said here in a speech at the Higher Institute of National Defence.

However, to Europe, he said, a reduction in conventional arms is becoming paramount now. In France's view, the process of disarmament should lead to the maintenance of "minimal, sufficient forces". Dumas also pointed out that chemical weapons should be fully eliminated. However, the minister said, the policy of nuclear deterrence still remains important to France.

At the same [as received] he set out in detail the French point of view on the current talks in Vienna within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). His opinion is that the forthcoming discussion of the item concerning a reduction in conventional arms in Europe should be held within the framework of the CSCE process with the participation of all the 35 countries that had signed the Final Act in Helsinki.

Dumas also touched upon integration processes taking place in the European Economic Community, emphasizing the need to supplement them by common efforts in the military field. He said the course did not contradict the disarmament process.

Correspondent Views Upcoming Mitterrand Visit

LD2311102388 Moscow TASS in English 0946 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Much importance in the Soviet Union is being attached to Francois Mitterrand's forthcoming visit to the USSR, and hope is being expressed that the upcoming Soviet-French talks in Moscow and a visit to France by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the first half of 1989 will lend a new political dynamism to relations between our two countries and will raise them to a qualitatively higher level.

Following a certain setback in the early 1980s Soviet-French cooperation is now entering a new spiral of development. A desire to deepen relationships in the political, economic and humanitarian fields manifests itself both in Moscow and Paris. A considerable compatibility of the Soviet and French priorities at the present stage of the disarmament process, and readiness for joint practical actions have been perceived.

The two sides have become confident that a substantial reduction in troops and conventional arms, a ban on chemical weapons and the elimination of their stocks would fully meet the interests of the two countries. The Soviet side really wants to make headway along the road together with French partners at the same pace.

Our reflections on the future of Europe proceed in the same direction. We visualise the building of European future on the basis of realization of not only the geographical community of European countries and peoples but also political, economic and cultural one.

However, by no means all reserves of bilateral relations have been exhausted. The state of Soviet-French economic cooperation, for example, arouses concern in the Soviet Union. One should apparently approach more boldly new forms of business contacts such as the establishment of mixed enterprises, industrial co-production arrangements, and so on.

The development of scientific and technological contacts, particularly in technologically advanced fields, could be more effective. Much can be done to intensify cultural contacts and to extend the knowledge of each other's contemporary culture.

Francois Mitterrand's forthcoming visit to the USSR coincides with the start of the first long international space flight. It is symbolic that the Soviet Union and France act as pioneers in this respect. One would like to hope that this will become an example for other fields of cooperation between our two countries.

Commentary Views French Attitudes to USSR

LD2011045288 Moscow International Service in French 1800 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Boris Tumanov commentary]

[Text] Good evening, listeners. The upcoming visit to the USSR by the French president will take place in the context of a very intensive East-West dialogue, whose scope and dimensions far exceed that which has been traditional since the last war. In my view this will impart quite a special character to the Soviet-French summit, all the more so since today all the objective conditions have been brought about to allow our two countries to give Soviet-French relations not only a new impetus, but a new quality with the opportunities opening up to us with restructuring.

Is France ready to surmount the barrier which separates the traditional views about the Soviet Union from the realities of restructuring? To put it another way, is it willing to abandon the [words indistinct] (?approach to) the revolutionary processes in the Soviet Union and the analysis of Soviet realities based on the rather (?simplistic) criterion of the glass which is either half full or half empty? Mr Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, has just replied in part to these questions in his recent interview to the daily LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS. According to him, France is fully aware that the very intensive contacts between Mikhail Gorbachev and

the West European leaders are an expression of their mutual desire for exchanges and dialogue, and that this desire is encountering a new situation and a new atmosphere in Europe. Mr Dumas stressed, among other things, that all this is the direct result of the changes currently taking place in the Soviet Union. The French minister mentioned in particular the undoubted progress noted in the Soviet Union in the field of human rights, as well as the enormous changes in the Soviet press. It is impossible (?not to take into consideration) everything that has happened in the USSR, Mr Dumas concluded, and it is vital to encourage in every way this progress under way in Soviet society.

I would like to end this commentary on this moderately optimistic note but, alas, it must be noted that apart from this statement, Mr Dumas himself as well as other French statesmen still set great store by their skepticism with respect to the Soviet Union's defense policy, claiming that they do not notice sufficient changes in it. Limited time does not allow me to quote here the numerous examples of Moscow's behavior which belie the impressions of the French minister and some of his colleagues, so I will restrict myself to a general remark which appeals to elementary logic: I do not think that anyone in France can deny that restructuring, which is transforming everything in the Soviet Union as far as the political system, the economy, ethnic relations, and social priorities, is a concerted and omnipresent process affecting every aspect of the life and activities of the Soviet (?state) and society without exception, including military policy. That is what gives rise to this very simple question: How can we encourage democratization in the Soviet Union and yet believe at the same time that (?it is destined) to prepare better for an invasion of the West? (?In any case) Mr Dumas says it himself: Let us not be hypocrites; after all, (?this is what) might determine the future of Soviet-French relations.

Economic Cooperation Talks Begin With Austria

LD2111202988 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Vienna November 21 TASS—The 20th session of the mixed Soviet-Austrian commission on economic, scientific and technological cooperation opened here today. The delegations are headed by USSR Minister of Finance Boris Gostev and Austria's Minister of Economic Affairs Robert Graf. The sides will discuss questions of the deepening of Soviet-Austrian cooperation in the area of economy and trade, quest for new, more rational and advantageous ways of cooperation, deepening of cooperation in production, setting up of joint ventures in the interests of the increase of mutual trade and widening of its structure.

Greeting participants in the talks, Robert Graf emphasized that Austria's federal government highly appraises the activity of the Soviet-Austrian commission and attaches much importance to it. He expressed the confidence that the commission will continue to play an important role in the strengthening of commercial and economic cooperation between the USSR and Austria which is based on the principles of equality and mutual advantage.

B. Gostev read out the message of greetings to the participants in the 20th session of the mixed Soviet-Austrian commission on economic, scientific and technical cooperation addressed by Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov.

On the same day, Boris Gostev had meetings with Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria Franz Vranitsky and Vice Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs Alois Mock. During the meetings there was an exchange of opinions on questions of further enhancing the efficiency of Austrian-Soviet commercial and economic cooperation, and development of its new forms, first of all by the establishment of direct contacts between enterprises, firms and foreign trade organizations.

Madrid University Confers Degree on Gorbachev

LD1911180888 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Madrid November 18 TASS—The administration of Madrid's Complutense University, the biggest higher educational establishment in Spain, has conferred an honorary doctorate on Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Soviet leader received the title for his "outstanding contribution to and work for peace", a university spokesman said today.

This is the second honorary scientific degree conferred on the Soviet leader in Spain. Last year, the Autonomous University in Madrid named him an honorary doctor for "outstanding work in favour of disarmament, detente and the creation of safer and fairer international relations."

Commentary on West European Loans to USSR

LD2111050588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] The U.S. newspaper THE WASHINGTON TIMES has published an extensive article attacking Western European banks that grant credit to socialist states. Admittedly the U.S. press has been carrying out an extensive campaign against giving loans to socialist countries. What is it, then, that certain U.S. circles find dissatisfying? Our commentator Viktor Levin replies to this question.

[Levin] In my view, these circles are not happy about the development of normal trade and economic relations between capitalist and socialist countries of Europe. But this brief answer obviously needs explanation: Why are they unhappy?

I am getting the impression that the United States is afraid that as a result of the broad development of trade and economic relations with socialist countries, the states of Western Europe will strengthen their positions in competition with the United States. Western European competitors are already causing them a great deal of headaches; and if these competitors get stronger, they will become even more dangerous.

Outwardly the United States prefers to say that by giving credits, Western European countries allegedly almost subsidize the military programs of socialist countries. Allegations are also being made that loans are being given to those who are not solvent and that Western countries are allegedly acting against their own interests.

As for the first claim concerning the subsidy of military programs, business circles in Western Europe do not even deem it necessary to refute it. The contrived and false nature of this thesis is obvious.

As for the point about solvency, it is, of course, worth saying a few words about this. Recently I had to attend a press conference by the leader of a FRG major bank, the Dresdener Bank. There, too, the question about the solvency of the USSR was raised in light of the recent decision by the consortium of West German banks to give our country a loan amounting to R1 billion or DM3 billion. Dr Roeller, chairman of the Dresdener Bank board, has shown very specifically that the USSR is quite solvent. Our country is scrupulously fulfilling its pledges and there has not yet been a case of our being behind in repaying our loans.

To my question on the conditions on which we have been given the DM3 million credit, Dr Roeller and Mr Etzel, the leader of the department on relations with East European states, replied that in the first place it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that the credit has a purpose. It can be used only for acquiring equipment for the enterprises of the food and light industries. This is one aspect of the agreement. Another aspect, concerning interest rates on the credit, is resolved in this way: Since the credit will be given to us for several years, interest on it will be determined by the current rate of the Deutsche mark. Hence, vascillations are possible within 0.5 percent. However, as I understood from the explanations of the Dresdener Bank leaders, interest rates will not exceed 6 percent. I will say bluntly that this is a very beneficial condition for us. But West European countries also take care of their benefits. It would be naive to see bankers as philanthropists. They are skillful in counting money and they count it, taking prospects into consideration.

Currently, for example, the citizens of the FRG are being given loans for purchasing cars. Such loans are advantageous and interest on them is very small—if I remember correctly, not more than 2 percent. But in this way the banks are trying to stimulate car sales, in which demand has fallen in the FRG. As a result, the customers of banks—companies manufacturing cars—are gaining. Hence it is also to the bank's benefit.

The same goes for the credit to the USSR. With the money we receive we will place orders with enterprises of the machine-building industry. These enterprises will have a certain income. The banks will not come out as losers either.

It seems to me that one should add one political point to these economic speculations: Surely, the development of broad trade and economic links serves as an important factor in the consolidation of peace. West European business circles, as one can judge by the credits being given to us, are confident in the future. This means that our innermost hopes for a lasting peace receive weighty substantiaiton.

It seems that some people in the United States are irritated by all this, but it is not for nothing that they say: Jupiter, if are you angry, you are wrong.

Cooperation in Drugs War Discussed With FRG

LD2311063588 Hamburg DPA in German 1744 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Federal Republic and the Soviet Union intend to cooperate more closely in the future in combating drug smuggling. This was agreed upon by Friedrich Zimmermann (Christian Social Union), federal minister of the interior, and his Soviet counterpart Vadim Bakatin at a meeting in Moscow. Zimmermann, who is in the Soviet capital for the second UNESCO conference for sports ministers, stated this evening in Moscow that an appropriate agreement should be drawn up before the visit of Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Bonn, planned for next spring.

According to Zimmermann's statement, the drug issue was also an important topic during the talks between Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Gorbachev at the end of October in Moscow. The USSR viewed this problem as a very serious one because an increase in illegal drug trafficking in that country too has led to an increase in consumption. Bakatin presented Zimmermann with an internal handbook about the drug problem in the Soviet Union. So far Moscow has concluded an agreement on combating drugs only with Great Britain.

Zimmermann said he had also inquired about the problem of emigrants of German origin from the Soviet Union. He suggested that Bakatin be more generous than previously in issuing visitor visas for Soviet Germans.

This proposal met with great interest. The CSU politician, who was visting the Soviet Union for the first time, spoke positively about the first meeting between a German and Soviet minister of the interior. Among other things, Bakatin congratulated him on Bonn's successes in combating terrorism.

Swedish Official Meets With Petrovskiy
LD2211152288 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Soviet-Swedish political consultations were held here on November 21-22. Chief of the Political Department of Sweden's Foreign Ministry Torsten Ern took part in them.

Torsten Ern had a conversation with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy.

Questions of Soviet-Swedish relations, problems of the European process, of the development of an international dialogue on comprehensive security, political settlement in Afghanistan, solution of conflict and crisis situations came up for discussion during the consultations.

During the stay in Moscow, the guest from Sweden also had meetings at the Institute of Europe of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of USA and Canada studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Soviet-Finnish Joint Enterprise Established
PM2211153088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov: "Another Step"]

[Text] Helsinki, 21 Nov—Another joint Soviet-Finnish enterprise is being set up. The agreement in principle has just bene reached in the Finnish capital by representatives of both sides—M.I. Busygin, USSR minister of the timber industry, and leaders of the well-known Finnish firm Metsa-Serla. The enterprise will tackle the construction on Soviet territory, more precisely in Tallinn, of a major paper combine which it is planned to start up by the end of 1991. The Finnish firm's partner is a pulp and paper combine already operating in the Estonian capital. The modern combine, which will be built mainly by the firm Metsa-Serla (and 40 percent of the joint enterprise will belong to it), will process mainly paper from secondary raw materials.

CPSU Greets Greek Communists on Anniversary
PM2211162388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Greek Communist Party Central Committee on its 70th anniversary]

[Text] To the Greek Communist Party [KKE] Central Committee

Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends cordial congratulations to Greek Communists on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KKE.

Throughout its history the KKE has consistently and resolutely championed the working people's vital interests. Greek Communists won the entire people's recognition through their heroic struggle against fascism during the years of World War II. Together with the country's other democratic forces, the KKE made an important contribution to restoring the democracy trampled on by the military dictatorship. The dynamic and principled political course and the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to Greek conditions were the decisive factors in transforming the KKE into an influential and authoritative national force.

The fraternal relations between the CPSU and the KKE are underpinned by common communist ideals and are rooted in our peoples' traditional friendship. Throughout the 7 decades Soviet and Greek Communists have been marching side by side as like-minded colleagues. Soviet Communists voice solidarity with the KKE's struggle for its country's democratic development oriented toward socialism. We value the support that Greek Communists give to the revolutionary restructuring in the USSR and to our foreign policy initiatives based on new political thinking and aimed at achieving a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

We ardently wish the fraternal KKE new successes in its activity in the name of peace, democracy, and socialism.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentary Views Upcoming Soviet-Cuban Summit
PA1811200388 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0200 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Commentary by Vladimir Korotkov]

[Text] The next Soviet-Cuban summit is especially important because all the socialist countries are now bent on increasing social production and accelerating scientific-technical progress and socioeconomic development. In other words, all this calls for a fuller explanation of the potential of socialism and how it benefits the workers.

Truly revolutionary transformations are occurring in the USSR. The democratic changes and increased information must renew Leninist principles on building socialism. We know that the Cuban comrades devote a lot of effort to correcting their past errors and deficiencies. The renewal processes undertaken in our countries have specific characteristics. This is logical because each

country has its own traditions, idiosyncracies, and way of life. Nonetheless, I repeat that we have goals in common. Therefore it is very necessary to exchange views.

Cuba and the Soviet Union are marching together toward a new society. In this situation there cannot be any fixed formulas because each step we take in this direction is the first. We are sure that the upcoming Soviet-Cuban summit will contribute to strengthening the ties of friendship between our two countries.

Komplektov Receives Peruvian Deputy Minister
LD2111105488 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Viktor Komplektov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, has received here today J. Belevan, deputy foreign minister of Peru, who handed to him a personal message from the Peruvian Foreign Minister Luis Gonzalez Posada to Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU CC Politburo, foreign minister of the USSR.

Discussed during the friendly talk that followed were matters of bilateral concern and several international problems.

Ecuadoran Communist Supports Ties With USSR
PA1611223288 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Statement by Ecuadoran Communist Party Secretary General Rene Mauge; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] I believe that in today's world, relations between any country—particulary a country such as ours or the USSR—are very important, I would say vital.

Geopolitically we are very close and have many ties with the United States. Because of this, and because of the presence and penetration of U.S., EEC, and Japanese monopolies, and now even some elements from Brazil and other countries, it is necessary that our country diversify and have real relations—not fictitious ones—with the USSR and other socialist countries.

Furthermore, the USSR is a reality in today's world. Our country cannot remain without understanding or acceptance of this reality. I hope the new administration of Dr Rodrigo Borja Cevallos undertands this reality and improves economic, diplomatic, cultural, and political relations with the USSR. I hope that in the same way that we have political, cultural, and military attaches in the United States and other countries in Latin American and Europe, we also have them in the USSR and other socialist countries. I believe this would do much good. It would allow the USSR to know Ecuador better and vice versa. These relations would also allow Ecuador to enjoy technological transfers and to have a business partner affording Ecuador further opportunities to develop.

This has nothing to do, as some narrow-mindedly say, with changing from U.S. to Soviet domination—this is not the case. Those who think in that way see relations in a spirit of servility. I believe Ecuador should seriously think of relations based on equality that are mutully convenient to Ecuador and the USSR.

Political & Social

Tensions Escalate in Azerbaijan, NKAO

500,000 Protest in Baku 22 Nov

AU2211192788 Paris AFP in English 1910 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] MOSCOW, Nov 22 (AFP)—Half a million people demonstrated in Baku, capital of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, Tuesday, to resist Armenian demands that the enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh be transferred to Armenia, a local television journalist said.

In the Armenian capital Yerevan, nationalist sources said that the local parliament broke off its current session because of what Armenian television called "the worsening situation" in Azerbaijan.

An Azerbaijan television correspondent told AFP that "two Armenians who assumed Azerbaijani names" tried to "provoke" demonstrators in Baku into disturbing the peace in Armenian districts in the city.

They were "rendered harmless", he said.

Police sources told AFP that there had been no clashes between Armenians and Azeris, either in Baku or in Nakhichevan, a province of Azerbaijan inside the borders of Armenia.

According to a correspondent for the official ARMENPRESS NEWS AGENCY in Yerevan, the situation was "very complex" late Tuesday in Baku and in Nakhichevan.

The Armenian parliament was due on Wednesday to debate a Kremlin decree to promote economic development in Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian-populated enclave which is administered by Azerbaijan.

Demonstrators Number 800,000 23 Nov

AU2311092988 Paris AFP in English 0922 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 23 (AFP)—Mass demonstrations were taking place throughout the southern Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan on Wednesday, with about 800,000 people taking to the streets in Baku alone to demand that an Armenian-dominated territory remain in the republic, a Azerbaijani television journalist said.

The number of demonstrators in Baku, the capital, was larger than on Tuesday, but the situation remained calm, the journalist told AFP by telephone.

Half a million people demonstrated for eight hours in Baku Tuesday to demand that the mostly Armenian-populated enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh remain in the republic.

Demonstrators attending Wednesday's rallies were also calling for an end to construction work currently underway on an aluminum plant in the Nagorno-Karabakh town of Shusha, because the factory had been ordered by authorities in the neighbouring republic of Armenia.

Azeris consider this undue interference in their republic's affairs, and believe Armenians are attempting to maintain a foothold in this town, after the last remaining Armenian families there fled following violent clashes in September.

Meanwhile a general strike in the capital of the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh continued with workers there demanding that sovereignty be transferred to Armenia.

Riots between the two communities last February left at least 32 dead and one Azeri youth was sentenced to death last week in Moscow for his part in the killings.

Strike in Stepanakert 'Extended'

AU2111140388 Paris AFP in English 1339 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 21 (AFP)—A general strike, called a week ago in Stepanakert, the capital of the Soviet autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, was extended on Monday, journalists from the local SOVIETSKII KARABAKH newspaper told AFP.

Ethnic Armenians—who form a majority in this small enclave territory within the Azerbaijan Republic—began the general strike last Monday to back their demands for a lifting of the curfew, in effect since September 21, and for the transfer of their territory to Armenian control.

"Nothing is working apart from transport and food shops, a journalist said in telephone interview. Special Interior Ministry troops were still deployed in town," he added.

Asked how long the strike would continue, the journalist suggested this was "up to Moscow."

Both the Kremlin and authorities in Azerbaijan have so far refused to contemplate a transfer of sovereignty. Workers in Stepanakert had held a another general strike this summer to back their demands.

Strikers here reportedly said they were acting in support of local representatives who voted on November 4 in favour of amendments to the Soviet Federal Constitution, which aims to give more powers to autonomous regions.

'Special Situation' Declared

LD2311134988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Today the situation in Nakhichevan and Kirovabad became seriously aggravated. Hooligan elements attacked social and administrative buildings. As a result of the disruption of law and order, 126 people were wounded in Kirovabad and 3 military personnel were killed.

There also were people injured in Nakhichevan. In this connection a special situation [khushi vaz'yyat] was declared in these cities. Measures are being taking to maintain citizens' legality and safety.

It must be pointed out that as a result of meetings held in Baku and some rayons of the republic, the work of vehicles and public transportation has been seriously disrupted; gaps were allowed in trade, public consumption, consumers and health services. Beginning on the evening of 21 November, cases of crime, (?attacks) on people, and plunder increased in Baku. The lives of people in Baku are endangered. Separate militia workers are not entirely fulfilling their duties. Tens of thousands of appeals are arriving at party and soviet bodies, asking for the maintenance of the necessary law and order in the capital. The city's leadership is taking immediate measures.

Armenia Supsov Session Breaks Up

AU2211182888 Paris AFP in English 1821 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 22 (AFP)—The parliament of Soviet Armenia broke off its current session in Yerevan on Tuesday due to a "worsening of the situation" in the neighbouring republic of Azerbaijan, Armenian television reported.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE was informed of this by the wife of Armenian militant Vazgen Manoukyan, a member of the Karabakh Committee, who coordinates the Armenian movement.

The television broke off a live broadcast of the parliament's debates, announcing that the session had been adjourned following reports of a "worsening of the situation" in Azerbaijan. No further details were given, Mrs. Manoukyan added.

It was impossible to reach Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, by telephone early on Tuesday evening.

Baku Rally, Speeches Reported

LD2311020888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] On 22 November Comrade Suleyman Tatliyev chaired a meeting of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. The meeting examined the discussions in the republic on draft changes in the USSR Constitution in the (?main) law and the supplements to it. Understanding their close participation under [word indistinct] of restructuring and democracy, the republic's workers took part in the [word indistinct] legislation, and submitted many practical proposals, remarks, and amendments. It was pointed out that the draft laws (?agree) with the political activity and civic (?maturity) of the republic's whole population. Discussions on the draft laws continue. A decision was adopted on the question discussed at the meeting.

Here is (?a report) by [word indistinct] (Muradkhanova) and [name indistinct]:

[Begin recording] [First reporter] Lenin Square, Baku, 22 November. [crowd noises in background] The great (?meeting) of the Azerbaijani workers continues. Dear listeners: The people of our republic once again have (?expressed) their anxiety over the events which have taken place in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The main line of the [words indistinct] of statements is as follows: [words indistinct] of the Azerbaijan SSR must be restored. The authority of the state of Azerbaijan is immune and the illegal (?actions) taking place due to the provocations of an extremists group in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast must be stopped and the Nagorno-Karkabakh Autonomous Oblast must be under the republican government.

During the days of the meeting, the people of Azerbaijan once again have proved the purity of their great ideals and their great desires. These desires have one aim—the integrity of the territory of Azerbaijan, [words indistinct] in the Azerbaijani territory, [words indistinct] work, creative life, and economic and cultural (?life), meeting the needs of today. But, as is noticed, the events of Karabakh (?hampers) such living conditions from coming about in our republic.

The excitement of the participants in the meetings is very (?profound). Indeed, 10 months of tension, a tense life for 10 months, have (?pushed back) the republic from both the economic and moral points of view. [passage indistinct]

Indeed, it is possible to eliminate economic damages, but, who will pay for moral damages?

[Second reporter] You are right.

[First reporter] Who will make up for moral damages? [passage indistinct] rightly say that those who create hostility among the two peoples and cause damage [words indistinct] must receive punishment. [words indistinct]

Now speaking is [name indistinct] winner of the republican Komsomol prize.

[First speaker] Dear brothers and sisters: For 6 days all [word indistinct] of Azerbaijan, elders, and even students have been gathering in this main square of Baku, demanding their rights. What disturbs us are the foreign hands which are extended to Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage indistinct] They are staging meetings in various parts of Karabakh without the permission of the government of Azerbaijan. [passage indistinct] All through the history Karabakh has been Azerbaijani territory. [passage indistinct] We have allowed them on our territory. [sentence indistinct] Now they are trespassing on our legitimate territory. [passage indistinct] Not even an inch of the Azerbaijani territory will be given to anyone. [applause]

[First reporter] Now, a representative of the heroic working class of Baku, worker at the [word indistinct] works [name indistinct] is going to speak.

[Second speaker] Comrades, the people of Azerbaijan, for the sake of their unity have justifiably raised their voice. Let the people of the world hear it. Let the slanders spread against us be (?exposed). The intrigues against our people have been exposed during these 5 days. The events of Sumgait, which was used by the Armenians [words indistinct] were exposed during these days. [passage indistinct] They have created [words indistinct] to defame our people to the people of the world. [words indistinct] our people's fault was to give places to Armenians everywhere in our republic. We have not refrained from explaining the facts about the events which have taken place and [words indistinct]. I believe that all the peoples of the world haved heard the righteous voice of the justice of the people of Azerbaijan. [passage indistinct] The intrigues in Nagorno-Karabakh must be stopped. Nagorno-Karabakh is [words indistinct]. An incident took place in Sumgait. This is not a crime which has been created [words indistinct]. They are people who [words indistinct]. The punishment given to them [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] must be reversed. It must be objectively examined by the court of Sumgait. [applause] I am saying that demands of (?the local) people have not been fulfilled. [passage indistinct]

[First announcer] Bakhtiyar Vakhabzade, people's poet, with his practical proposals for normalization of the situation.

[Vakhabzade] Dear comrades, instead of delivering a long speech, it is necessary to give a concrete (?statement). I have written clearly [words indistinct] to the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, [words indistinct] to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: We, the workers of the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan and participants of this meeting, very anxious about the acute situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and about the difficult situation of the Azerbaijani population in Armenia, make this appeal to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The question of creating an autonomous oblast within the Armenian SSR where the Azerbaijani population [words indistinct] live, must be examined. This must maintain the local (?grazing lands) of these citizens living in the Armenian SSR, their security, and solve their social, economic, and spiritual needs in these rayons. We believe that this proposal suits [words indistinct] and interests of this section of the population of the Armenian SSR. It will conform with the Leninist nationality policy and people's friendship. At the same time, we appeal to the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. If this just appeal of ours is not supported, then the question of the appropriateness of establishing such an autonomous oblast within Azerbaijan should be examined. We are sure that this wish of ours will be (?fulfilled). [applause] [passage indistinct] [end recording]

'Nonstop Meetings' in Baku

NC2311091188 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 23 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers today carry material on events over the last few days in the capital of the republic. They publish extensive reportage from Lenin Square, where nonstop meetings between indignant Baku citizens and people from other towns and rayons of the republic that have come to Baku have been going on now for several days. They also publish interviews with participants of the meetings. They carry appeals for an end to violations of the laws of the republic and its sovereign rights, for an end to construction work at Tophana, and for the establishment of law and order in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

One can read all about this in today's papers. We will deal here in a little more detail with the AZERINFORM report that is also published in all the papers. It says in part:

One of the main issues that quite rightly disturbs the working people of Baku and the whole republic is the illegal construction work going on in the Tophana locality near Shusha of a branch of the Kanakert Aluminum Plant of the Armenian SSR, as well as a cooperative boarding house for its workers. The NKAO Ispolkom permitted the building of this project under the guise of housing construction necesary for the former inhabitants of Sumgait who have moved to Stepanakert.

Having sorted out the matter, the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, proceeding from the illegality of assigning construction work on land suitable for agriculture, from the inadmissibility of locating ecologically harmful production in an all-union resort zone, and from the historical significance of Tophana for the Azerbaijani people, did not permit the oblast administration to continue with the development of the above project.

At present, as reported to AZERINFORM from [word indistinct] sources, thanks to the efforts and persistence of repubican organs, all kinds of construction in this (?beautiful) corner of nature have ceased. Roads leading to it are being controlled by troops.

In a telephone conversation with Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, he condemned the beginning of construction work on the factory branch and the boarding house. The director of the Kanakert Aluminum Plant has been punished.

Commentary on Continuing 'Meetings'

NC2311090688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Commentary by Valid Senayev]

[Text] This is the fourth day that the main square in Baku has been disturbed by agitation, the fourth day that the participants in the meetings in the main square expect replies to questions which have made them and, in fact, all the people of the republic, uneasy. These questions are related to the situation created in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

It would have been (?better) if the situation had been normalized by the completely clear, resolute, and just decision the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted 4 months ago. However, the way the situation has developed indicates that the opposite has happened. NKAO leadership has been acting arbitrarily without heeding any ethical rules. Without reaching an agreement with the Azerbaijan SSR's Government, it has allowed the construction of a branch of an aluminum factory in the Armenian SSR on the Azerbaijan SSR's territory. Furthermore, it has allowed the destruction of the renowned forest in Tophana.

It is true that the work in the vicinity of Tophana forest has been halted. The meetings' participants have welcomed this information. Furthermore, they have applauded the other measures put into effect by the republic's party organization and government. Nevertheless, the meeting's participants continue to ask: When will the oblast organs stop obstructing efforts to repair the burned and damaged homes of Azerbaijanis in Stepanakert? And when will these things end: the provocation of nationalist elements through every kind of fabrication and rumor, the failure to penalize false national heroes and those responsible for instigations and disorders, the forced emigration of thousands of Azerbaijani families from their homes in NKAO—particularly from its capital—and from the Armenian SSR, the illegal shipment to the Armenian SSR of products manufactured by industrial establishments in Stepanakert, and the publication of all kinds of calumnies and nonsensical claims in the newspapers in the Armenian SSR and NKAO about the reputation of the people of Azerbaijan SSR and the republic itself? Yes, this is what the meetings' participants wish to know.

Many questions and proposals have been put to the leading party and government members, social officials, writers, and poets who have participated in the meetings. The representatives of the work collectives, students, and intellectuals wish to contribute toward the effort made by the Azerbaijan SSR's party organization and government to normalize the crisis situation which has continued to exist for the past 9 months and which has caused millions of rubles worth of damage to the republic's economy; that is, the economy of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, they wish to help the republic's government safeguard and maintain its untouchable authority.

Redeeming material damage is possible, but how will the moral damage be redeemed? When will those responsible for causing moral damage be penalized? This is one of the main questions making the meetings' participants uneasy.

I have heard a group of participants say the following: [words indistinct] A meeting should be held by the influential representatives of the fraternal republics to normalize the situation in NKAO. They should sit and talk. A proverb says that two heads are better than one.

Yes, this is the viewpoint that has been supported by hundreds of thousands of people who will pass the night beside camp fires or in tents in Lenin Square once again. There is only one objective [words indistinct]: Normalizing the situation in NKAO and the relations between the two neighboring republics in as short a time as possible.

This is an favorable objective and the quicker it is realized, the better it will be, because we have many things to do and many problems to resolve during the current reconstruction era.

'Hooligan' Acts Given 'Attention'

NC2311092588 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 23 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers and law-enforcement organs are also giving attention to another issue: Certain individuals, exploiting the difficult state of affairs, are attempting to exacerbate the situation in Baku, and by their hooligan activities are damaging the good name of the Azerbaijani people. This is causing rightful indignation. We are talking about the acts of hooligans who over the last few days have been charging at great speed through the streets of the city violating safety regulations and placing at risk the people's life and well-being.

The papers publish the license plates numbers of some of the automobiles noted by the Vehicle Inspection Bureau whose owners, hiding behind the Azerbaijani flag, permitted such conduct.

Further on 22 Nov Armenian Supsov Session

NC2311122788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] As we reported earlier, the 8th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet was held yesterday in the Stepan Shaumyan Political Education Palace. The chairman announced that elections had been held in four electoral okrugs to replace deputies that had left, and the session then heard the report of Deputy (Shchor Sebastyan), chairman of the Credentials Commission, which stated that the deputies in these okrugs had assumed office.

Deputy Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, spoke on the first item on the agenda.

In view of his transfer to other work, the Supreme Soviet relieved Deputy (Vladimir Galumyan) from his duties as deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Suren Avetisyan was elected deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The deputies then began to debate the state plan and budget of the republic. The report on the state plan for the economic and social development of the republic for 1989 and on the progress of the fulfillment of the state plan in 1988 was delivered by Deputy Mkrtchyan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic and chairman of the State Planning Committee. Deputy Dzhanoyan, minister of finance of the Armenian SSR, spoke on the state budget of the Armenian SSR for 1989 and on the fulfillment of the 1987 state budget.

After a recess, the deputies heard and discussed the draft law denouncing the genocide of Armenians in 1915 in Ottoman Turkey and establishing 24 April as a remembrance day for the victims of the genocide.

Discussion on Sumgait Tragedy Viewed

LD2211203388 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Excerpts] As we reported earlier, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have submitted for deliberation at the forthcoming session of the 11th convocation of the republic's supreme soviet a proposal to proclaim 24 April as Memorial Day for the victims of the Armenian genocide of 1915.

In this connection SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN carries the thoughts on the subject of Hovhannes Baghdasaryan. He writes: the holocaust of 1915 is the bloodiest and most agonizing wound of all Armenians. The sultan's turkey, exploiting the helplessness of the Armenian people and the permissive attitude of the European peoples, annihilated a huge segment of our people and seized the greater part of its historic homeland. [passage omitted]

Some 73 years have elapsed since that tragedy. The wound has yet to heal completely—there are still people around who experienced the terror of the holocaust. And what do we see? What do we experience now? The infliction of a new injury, the perpetration of a new tragedy. What we witnessed in Sumgait was a repetition of one of the most horrifying pages of the history of the Armenian people. This was not an unforseeable elemental calamity but a planned and organized criminal act, nurtured on the soil of ethnic and racial enmity. How else can one explain an act of liquidation—such as that attempted against the Armenians in Sumgait—just because our people had raised their voice for a just demand, for defending their human and national dignity?

Officials Address Crowds 18 Nov

LD2211204588 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] The situation has once again become tense in the [Armenian] Republic in the past few days. The working people are concerned over the unsatisfactory progress of the fulfillment of the well-known decision of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers on Nagorno-Karabakh, the state of the issue of the political settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, and the separate trials of the culprits of the criminal act of Sumgait.

Grant Voskanyan, the chairman of the Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Galusd Galoyan, secretary of the Presidium, addressed the crowds that gathered at the Theater Square in Yerevan 18 November. In view of the extreme importance of the agenda of the forthcoming session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, the crowds were presented with the drafts of the resolutions to be deliberated at the republic's highest state organ. It was noted that adoption of carefully-considered resolutions can provide the maximal expression of the interests and wishes of the working people of the republic. It was decided that the proposals, objections, and additions forwarded by the working people should be fully examined and reflected in the draft resolutions.

Aftermath of Lithuanian Supsov Meeting Reported

Nationalists' Allegiance Questioned

PM2311111388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 6

[Own correspondent R. Motskus report: "We Are Part and Parcel of the USSR"]

[Text] Vilnius—It is always busy on Gediminas Square. Even more so at the moment—heated discussion is under way in Lithuania on the results of the recent

session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. A number of important decisions were made, notablly on the issues of establishing a state language and national symbols.

Lithuanian has been given the status of state language on the territory of the republic. The Lithuanian SSR, the law states, shall ensure its use in the activity of state and public organs, in the public education, culture, science, and production spheres, in other institutions, and at enterprises and organizations. The state shall take care to comprehensively develop Lithuanian and its teaching. Conditions are to be created for the development of other languages used in the Lithuanian SSR and for the learning and use of Russian as a means of interethnic communication among the peoples of the USSR.

The discussion of the USSR draft laws submitted for nationwide discussion has given rise to lively debates. Approving those articles of the draft laws which, in the deputies' opinion, accord with the spirit of the 19th party conference, the deputies at the same time expressed disagreement with provisions that, in their view, run counter to the 19th all-union party conference resolutions and are allegedly aimed at increasing centralization and limiting the republic's sovereignty.

Particularly stormy debates were prompted by the discussion of the question "On the Draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution." The session did not submit to the influence of those who wanted to make hasty alterations to certain articles of the republic's basic law, which would diverge from the provisions of the existing USSR Constitution. A parliamentary commission has been formed to carry out further work on the submitted draft Lithuanian Constitution. Following final preparation of the draft the commission has been instructed to submit it for public discussion in January-February next year.

This triggered a negative reaction from certain hotheads, who started organizing impromptu rallies, insulting deputies, and collecting signatures for various resolutions.

The republic's government has categorically condemned the actions of those who are trying, by resorting to impermissible and abusive measures, to prevent deputies from carrying out their duties.

"In the opinion of lawyers, the talk of procedural violations is just an excuse to belittle the session's work and achieve the self-seeking claims made by a group of people," Y. Guretskas, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, stated in an interview with this correspondent.

I also spoke with deputies. Here is the opinion of A. Chuplinskas:

"These 2 days have been exceptionally important for all Lithuania," he said. "We deputies met in Soviet Square with favorably minded Vilnius people. We constantly felt a spiritual link with our voters and all our countrymen. In the evening we went outside with our spirits high and feeling proud of having executed the people's will. Then suddenly there were cries of abuse. Those who did not like the decisions we had taken were unable to control themselves."

G. Petrov, adjuster at the "Elf" Association's main enterprise:

"I am sure that progress is only possible for Lithuania in close cooperation with all union republics."

A.-M. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on republic TV.

Each republic, he said, has its own logic for resolving issues, and it is guided by that logic.

However, there are issues which cannot be resolved in the way in which certain people would like. The "Sajudis" leadership has adopted a resolution and proposed radical amendments to Lithuania's current constitution.

What do these amendments mean? In practice they mean confrontation with the existing USSR Constitution. On the other hand, from a legal standpoint this would legitimize Lithuania's de facto secession from the USSR or the nonfulfillment of Soviet laws. At the session the deputies unanimously voted for a different draft resolution.

We understand, A.-M. Brazauskas continued, that not all the intentions of "Sajudis" have been realized. Why, a political contest is taking place. Clearly, one must know how to lose. We sometimes lose too. But in this situation it is necessary to understand the way events are developing, the logic of political decisions. It is very important not to inflame passions, not to embark on confrontation. We do not understand the moral pressure on deputies who have adopted such good resolutions—pressure organized after the session had finished. It was not an edifying spectacle. Needless to say, this does not reflect well on the organizers of the actions. It is highly regrettable that the young people in the square acted in such a way—without correctly understanding everything, in my view. Attempts are now being made to organize a similar action aimed at convening an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet. Clearly, this action will lead us into a dead end and produce even greater confrontation—which is something nobody in Lithuania needs. That is why I am appealing to Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies to be consistent and to be guided by political wisdom and, of course, concern for their country. There is no other way. Each step should be based on logic and common sense: Lithuania is not an island apart, we are part and parcel of

the USSR, we are part of Europe, we are—ultimately—part of the world. Our task is not to seek conflict but to build a new life and consolidate and rally forces for the common cause.

This appeal is meeting with an ever-wider response. Here, for instance, is the opinion of M. Khmelnik, a participant in the Great Patriotic War and a CPSU member since 1944:

"I am convinced that the 10th session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet made decisions which accord with the spirit of the 19th all-union party conference. The deputies showed wisdom in discussing a number of problems raised by life and restructuring. I am of Jewish nationality, I lived in the Ukraine, and in 1940 I was drafted into the Red Army. Fate left me in Lithuania after the war. My parents were shot by the fascists and I was left alone. My children were raised on Lithuanian soil, my relatives live in Lithuania. There are Russians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Tatars, and Poles in our common family, and I do not understand how someone can set one people against another."

Political assessments of the situation were given at a conference of the republic aktiv. In their numerous letters, telegrams, and phone calls to party organs and newspaper editorial bureaus Communists, workers, and other working people have approved the principled actions, position, and realism of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and Government. In the opinion of many, certain members of the "Sajudis" organization and other social formations and groups have gone too far. People's Writer of Lithuania Yu. Baltushis made his own "diagnosis" with his customary directness:

"The good child 'Sajudis' has latterly started dictating what everyone should do and how they should live. Yet the members allegedly advocate democracy and pluralism. I want to ask plainly where their allegiance lies—with their own people, with Lithuania, or with the 'voices' of U.S. Congressmen? The only people who can ride two horses at once are in the circus..."

Brazauskas Appeals to Public

LD2211203088 Vilnius in English to North America 0100 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Text] The session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet which was concluded yesterday caused many controversial and polarized (?discussions).

Therefore, today Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, made an appeal to Lithuanian people on the Lithuanian TV.

Algirdas Brazauskas pointed out that deputies had demonstrated their political maturity and unanimously voted for realistic proposals, which were based on wisdom. There has been no violation of procedure because every deputy has only one vote. All the debatable issues were postponed for later discussion together with the draft Lithuanian Constitution.

We have considerable achievements: He said that Lithuania was the first among the Baltic republics to have its national historic symbolics back and granted its mother tongue the status of the state language. [sentence as heard]

Algirdas Brazauskas said that to adopt the amendment to the Lithuanian Constitution, which was proposed to the deputies yesterday, would have been simply a symbolic gesture. This amendment would be in confrontation with the Soviet Constitution, which is currently in force and could be revoked at any moment, and in real terms it would be impossible to implement the declared regulation of soveriegnty. [passage indistinct]

A. Brazauskas stressed once again that the road to sovereignty is long and hard and that the Lithuanian Government is determined to go along this road with consideration and not with adventurism.

A precipitate decision will make an influence on the dialogue with central offices and on the policy of cadres. Today there is still a possibility that second secretaries of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee were elected from among the citizens of Lithuania. If we had taken this precipitated decision yesterday, the situation would have been different today.

Today some questions have to be solved by following common sense, and this is not always what some people want. The existing situation must be given realistic assessment. We are in the composition of the USSR, and this is a reality.

Brazauskas also gave a negative response to the announcement broadcasted [as heard] by the Central Television news program that allegedly Lithuanians do not support the road adopted by Estonians.

Appealing to Lithuanian people, Algirdas Brazauskas assured that neither he nor the members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau or the deputies of the Supreme Soviet have never and will never disgrace Lithuania and will never betray their interests and will defend them persistently and resolutely even in the most difficult situations.

Further Reportage on Situation in Estonia

Leader on Economic Reform

PM2211113888 Brussels LE SOIR in French 19-20 Nov 88 p 1

[Interview with Reyn Otsason, chairman of the Estonian State Planning Commission, by Nina Bachkatov—date and place not given]

[Text] [Bachkatov] You are chairman of the state planning commission and deputy chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, and also a prominent leader of the republic's autonomy movement. Are these not conflicting roles?

[Otsason] We are not talking about autonomy but about khozraschet, the economic autonomy which the reforms are giving to enterprises. Indeed, we want sovereignty—the kind of sovereignty stipulated in the Constitution—for all Soviet republics.

[Bachkatov] What are the main aspects of this autonomy in practice?

[Otsason] The essential idea is for each republic to have its own budget in practice rather than in theory. At present, everything is swallowed up in a national budget which is redistributed. We no longer want a kind of Santa Claus in Moscow handing out presents to good children. Of course, this system means that each citizen must be aware of the fact that everybody's standard of living depends on his work.

[Bachkatov] How will your small republic find the financial resources to ensure the development hitherto funded by Moscow?

[Otsason] With credit, like any other country in the world. Let us take the case of the new port, which is certainly very expensive. If we had economic autonomy, we would have been able to find credit ourselves, either from other Soviet republics, which would themselves have economic autonomy, or from foreign countries.

[Bachkatov] What would happen to national solidarity among the various republics?

[Otsason] The continuation of national solidarity is not being called into question because, in our plan, each republic will contribute to a national budget necessary for carrying out joint tasks like defense or the running of central government. Contributions will have to be fixed on the basis of parameters like the republics' wealth or geographical position. It would also be possible to provide a "reserve fund" which would help the poorest republics to develop.

[Bachkatov] Estonia is probably more highly developed than the other republics, but it is a long way from attaining the level of the world market. How long would it take you to reach that level?

[Otsason] I want to be realistic, and therefore to avoid forecasts. The time factor will be important, and so will the presence of other autonomous republics around us. Autonomy does not mean the creation of a border between us and the rest of the USSR, if only because we will have to continue to import gas, oil, and wheat.

[Bachkatov] What about economic development zones?

[Otsason] Somebody had this idea after seeing the situation in China. But ours is not a region with a labor surplus. However, such a surplus is one of the main reasons for attracting an economic development zone. We, on the other hand, want to attract foreign capital, taking advantage of the new regulations on joint ventures.

[Bachkatov] What about this idea of an Estonian currency?

[Otsason] It is a difficult question, but it is a means of proving to our people that we are not lying when we say that each person's work will benefit all. However, under the present system, if we produce more we will attract non-Estonian consumers and our internal situation will not change. We therefore need our own currency, the value of which would be fixed according to the value of the ruble.

[Bachkatov] Do you have a joint platform with the other two Baltic republics?

[Otsason] Last month we had an economists' meeting. Another meeting is scheduled for the end of this month. We cannot yet talk about permanent or structured links, but we do not rule out the possibility of developing such links because we have common interests.

Economist on Economic Autonomy

LD2211235288 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] The Estonian Supreme Soviet is already planning to decide at the beginning of next month that the country will become economically self governing. One of the drafters of the new economic autonomy program, Tiit Made, spoke today in Helsinki on plans to implement the program. A book by Tiit Made, "My Fatherland—The Hope and Fear of Estonia" was published today in Helsinki. The book is the first summary of the radical Estonian reform plans. In his book, economist Tiit Made also criticizes the Finnish firms operating in Estonia. Ossi Kervinen reports:

[Kervinen] The proposal drafted by the Estonian People's Front on economic self-government in Estonia aims for a situation where the country would itself be allowed to manage its economy. A market economy would be the aim for goods exchange, and currency would be a separate exchangeable unit, Krona. The plans mean that in the future Estonia would also have authority over the present transnational companies, in other words the companies which follow Moscow's orders. Tiit Made says that the head of the planning committee recently went to Moscow to negotiate on this, and commented that implementation of the program would begin in 1990, while next year will be a transitional period. This is Tiit Made:

[Begin Made recording in Finnish] In any case the basic program has been completed. And the next meeting of the Supreme Soviet is on 5 December, (?which) should make a decision concerning economic self government for us. [end recording]

[Kervinen] At present about 91 percent of the Estonian economy is governed by Moscow. According to Tiit Made, agreement must be first reached with Moscow on what will happen with this 91 percent:

[Begin Made recording] Nothing has been said about this yet. And if we do not get this clear, then we can say goodbye to our ideas of independence. [end recording]

[Kervinen] Estonia cannot continue to live happy but poor, as the Estonians say bitterly. According to Tiit Made it is clear that a centrally directed economy has reached a deadlock in the Soviet Union. If Moscow wishes to make an impact on the world economy, it will have to delegate the planning and realization of ideas to the republics, Made says, and adds that Estonia is ready for this. According to him nothing has happened to the economy during restructuring. He says that the Soviet budget for next year has a deficit of R33 billion. This is an economic crisis, says Tiit Made, who is an economist from Tallinn.

The book "My Fatherland" speaks of the transnational companies as a phenomenon of a colonialist power. It states that the Estonian Government is powerless and begs for help from its Moscow comrades so that their companies, working for a colonial power, will not tighten the noose too tightly around the neck of local economic life. The book also hits Finnish enterprises:

[Begin recording] [Kervinen] In your book you criticize Finnish companies for not taking into account Estonia's needs when agreeing with Moscow on economic and industrial projects for Estonia. Have the Finnish companies done something wrong?

[Made] It came as a surprise to us again that a Finnish company will develop the pulp factory, the paper factory, in Tallinn. This was a big surprise to us 2 weeks ago, and again the Finnish companies have conducted talks in Moscow. But they have not asked us whether we need the factory; they did not ask us whether we need a harbor, a big grain harbor; but they went ahead and built it. I can understand the Finns, they want work, and to carry the work out well, and it does not matter to them where they build the factory. The main thing is that they get the order. But in the future I am certain that the Finns will come and consult the Estonians about whether they want such factories, harbors and so on. This would be good—we are already good neighbors. [end recording]

[Kervinen] At the publication reception for Made's book, which describes the recent events in Estonia very well, Made said he hopes that Helsinki will be the first location for an Estonian consulate, and that Tallinn will reciprocate with a Finnish consulate. He said that he has the impression that Sweden is well ahead in this matter already:

[Begin Made recording] We know very well in Estonia that we are alone in our fight: No one will help us, no one, not the Finns, not the Swedes, not the Germans, and so on. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Finnish publisher of Tiit Made's book, "My Fatherland," is negotiating on the publication of the book in Sweden. There is no information, on the other hand, of publication of the book in Estonia.

Deputy Notes Vote 'Pressure'

PM2211140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Estonian Supreme Soviet Deputy V. Koltakov by A. Petrushov and V. Shirokov in Tallinn under the rubric "USSR Is Our Common Home": "Why I Voted Against"—first two paragraphs are introduction; date not given]

[Text] Tallinn—On 16 November 1988 an extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted an amendment to Article 74 of the republic's constitution. Its essence is that in certain circumstances the Estonian SSR's supreme organs of power can suspend or set limits to the application of USSR legislative and other acts. Vasiliy Gennadyevich Koltakov, turner at the "Dvigatel" plant, is one of the seven deputies who voted against the amendment.

After the session we met with V. Koltakov and asked him to comment on his position.

[Koltakov] First of all, I would like to specify that it came as a surprise to me and other deputies that we were to discuss this draft law at the session. Many speakers mentioned this from the platform, as you yourselves know. In fact I saw the draft literally just before the session. Although, as it turned out, one version of the possible amendments was discussed in the Estonian-language newspapers. However, most of the deputies also did not know the final version. This was also said at the session. The amendment was not discussed in the Russian-language press at all.

[Interviewer] So what worried you about this document?

[Koltakov] Excuse me, but it runs counter to the current USSR Constitution! Yes, nationwide discussion of proposals on the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution is now under way. But we are living according to the country's existing Constitution. What was submitted to us? Here is what Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution used to say: "USSR laws are binding on the Estonian SSR's territory." But now it says: "USSR laws and other normative

acts enter into force on the Estonian SSR's territory after they have been registered according to the procedure established by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium." And further: "The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet has the right to suspend or set limits to the application of a USSR legislative or other normative act.... " You see that the country's existing fundamental law has literally been discarded.

Is it really possible to agree that the land, its mineral resources, forests and other resources, and also fixed production capital in industry, construction, agriculture, and so on, which belong to our entire state, must now be transferred to Estonia's exclusive ownership? How come? Take the "Dvigatel" plant or the enormous Novotallinnskiy maritime trade port. The entire country constructed these enterprises, the efforts of all republics went into their creation. They are our common wealth. Why divide it up?

[Interviewer] We heard your speech from the session platform....

[Koltakov] Others also talked about this. Do you remember the words of Deputy Yu. Tolmachev from the city of Sillamyae? He stated bluntly that the amendments clearly set the republic in opposition to the union. Deputy V. Andreyev from Narva called them a race which nobody needs and which leads not to consolidation but to disunity in the republic. I totally agree with them: Such major changes in Estonia's constitution should first have been discussed really widely. After all, basically democracy was violated, although today there is talk of it at every step.

[Interviewer] Nonetheless, why then were there only seven of you?

[Koltakov] I also wonder about this. In my view, there are several reasons. First, pressure....

[Interviewer] What do you mean?

[Koltakov] The day before the session there was outright "indoctrination" of the deputies. At the "Kodu" enterprise, to which I was invited on the initiative of the Popular Front group, they advised me to abstain when they found out my position. Moreover, one deputy said to me that the day before the session she received anonymous telephone calls threatening her if she did not vote "in favor." And one newspaper all but threatened that a large crowd might surround Vyshgorod (Toompea)—the place where the session was to take place—and so force the deputies to carry out "the people's will."

Probably, our constant concern for high opinion also had an effect. The Supreme Soviet party group met before the session. True, for some reason I was not invited. The comrades talked about the meeting. Various viewpoints were expressed. There were also doubts. But the republic's leaders persistently called on the Communist deputies to vote for the proposed resolutions, citing the complex political situation by way of explanation. Frankly, I still do not understand this.

And, of course, the voting ought to have been secret, but I'm sure you noticed that all the questions on the agenda were approved by an open vote. Yes, it was we who decided this. But you will recall the reaction of the "gallery"—the guests who literally craned over the balcony to see who voted "against." In addition, the session was relayed on television to the entire republic. It looks as though some people were afraid. By the way, these fears were not groundless. The next day there was a note concerning my conduct on our party committee secretary's desk which demanded that Deputy V. Koltakov be recalled.

[Interviewer] Aren't you exaggerating? The session was extraordinary, probably no one had the time for thorough preparation.

[Koltakov] Don't you believe it. Read the republican press. It is under the obvious influence of the Popular Front. Please don't misunderstand me, this movement helped and is helping the growth of people's self-awareness. And if many people have now gotten involved in politics in the republic, this is also to its credit. At the same time, I think, the atmosphere of uncertainty and endless rallies is on its conscience. Hundreds of thousands of people who do not belong to the indigenous nationality felt that they were unwanted "lodgers" so far as the hosts were concerned. I don't know who started to use the word "migrant," but it offends our feelings very deeply.

The words of the Popular Front appear in the press and are heard on the television and radio pretty often. Yet other democratic movements with noble aims have also emerged in the republic. For example, the United Council of Production Collectives emerged....

[Interviewers] Yes, we know. But seemingly its program documents were not published in the press?

[Koltakov] Precisely. The so-called International Movement also exists in the republic. But the Popular Front is hostile toward it and ridicules it in every possible way. It is even demanding that the movement be banned. The situation is similar with the United Council. Yet labor collectives are behind it. The all-republican rally held on its initiative on the eve of the session proved this. Workers from 197 enterprises, about 100,000 people, took part in it. They expressed great alarm about the exacerbation of the situation in the republic, condemned extremism and political adventurism, and appealed for unity among all forces supporting restructuring. How was this greeted? Some newspapers called the upcoming rally a strike and demanded categorically that it be canceled. Although the participants called on their labor

collectives to make up the lost time that very day. And this was done. Scorn for the new movement was even shown at the session. So the formation of public opinion was conducted purposefully, from the standpoint of the Popular Front, which by no means reflects all strata of the republic's population.

[Interviewers] Do you mean that the session's decisions could not have been otherwise?

[Koltakov] We Russian-speaking deputies are now being reproached for this. But time will tell whose position was more considered. I even think that some of my comrades voted "in favor" quite deliberately in an attempt to prevent the political situation in the republic from worsening even more. This is understandable. Now consolidation of forces is the most important thing for the republic. V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who visited our plant, spoke aptly about this. He noted that the pooling of efforts must lead to the strengthening of friendship and fraternity among the different nationalities living in Estonia. Do the decisions which have been made help this? In my view, no. How can it be otherwise if they essentially undermine the basic principles of the Soviet Union's structure and unity.

View of Moscow 'Perfidy' Decried

PM2311105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Academician Gustav Naan of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences under the rubric "The USSR Is Our Common Home": "Topsy-Turvy"]

[Text] Tallinn—"Estonia is totally surrounded by barbed wire to prevent penetration by the ideas of socialism"—these were the sarcastic remarks about the bourgeois government of the time made by Jaroslav Hasek on his return home from Russian captivity via Estonia in 1920.

The touchingly naive belief that happiness is based on fencing oneself off is evidently still held by many fellow-tribesmen even in the era of mankind's global interdependence. Its effect can also be felt in the documents adopted (not without tangible outside pressure) by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's extraordinary session on 16 November this year. Especially in the amendment of Estonia's Constitution to the effect that the republic's supreme organs of power can, in certain cases, suspend or regulate the extent of the application of legislative and other acts by the USSR. The formulation which was in force until then had the diametrically opposite effect: In the event of a discrepancy between an Estonian SSR law and an all-union law, the latter must prevail.

As a matter of fact, now it has become altogether fashionable to think that restructuring is simpler than simplicity itself. Just a matter of "everything upside-down!" Turn everything topsy-turvy—and there you have restructuring. Consequently, bourgeois Estonia must be perceived only in roseate hues, and all the years of Soviet power only in shades of black. Informal movements are fervently striving to outdo one another in this process of "everything upside-down." For example, a few days ago the alternative young people's forum recommended putting an end to teaching "Marxocentrist social sciences" and introduce... scripture in schools instead. True enough, not as a mandatory subject yet. There was also a demand to demolish (!) the Academy of Sciences and wipe it off the face of the earth. (In their resolution, the angry young people nevertheless showed mercy and deemed it possible to leave the academy with some coordinating functions.)

It is hardly amazing to find it suggested that all actions by "Moscow," including the draft laws currently under discussion, should be perceived only from the viewpoint of the presumption of perfidy as it were, from the viewpoint of assuming that the center thinks of nothing else but how to hurt poor Estonia.

This presumption of perfidy did not arise in a vacuum, of course. The impetus was provided by the ambitions and—let's be frank and admit it—the far from well-weighed actions of certain union ministries which became like socialist transnational companies displaying utter contempt for both nations and nature. But why throw out the baby with the bath water? Is it really necessary, in order to curb departmental excesses, to encroach on the USSR Supreme Soviet and the union government? To seek to transform our strong federation into a fragile confederation, into some kind of alliance between a swan, a crayfish, and a pike [reference to a Krylov fable about disparate interests]?

Just imagine the touching picture in which people in the 15 union republic capitals will ask themselves each time an all-union law or resolution is adopted: Should we recognize or reject it? And then, why only in the 15 capitals? Let's follow Socrates' advice and develop the idea to its logical conclusion. After all, there are also the autonomous republics. Perhaps, the Abkhaz ASSR, for instance, should question not only all-union but also Georgian legislative provisions? Let them apply in Gudayta, for instance, but not in Gagra? And if you want things "completely topsy-turvy" then why not lay down that a veto imposed by a rural soviet carries supreme power?!

Only at the level of philistine thinking, and, what is more, under the influence of whipped up emotions, does everything seem as easy as pie, especially the notion that a lack of authority at the center is bound to benefit the local level. Life is contradictory and dialectical and full of paradoxes. It is necessary carefully and without prejudice to investigate all options. It cannot be ruled out

that what the interests of union and autonomous republics demand at the moment is a strengthening rather than a weakening of central power. Recent experiences have shown that differences between republics can reach a very high, even tragic, degree of intensity. It seems likely that the switch to regional economic accountability, at least to begin with, will lead to a number of new differences and conflicts capable of sending shockwaves through our common home. Only a sufficiently authoritative supreme authority (legislative, executive, and judiciary) invested—with the general agreement of the republics—with great powers may be capable of ensuring a sufficiently impartial and fair settlement of these conflicts.

Let's take some Valerian drops, cool down, and admit that we have gone over the top. On 16 November, in the heat of the card game, we drew another ace while already holding 16 points. It only remains to be hoped that this upsurge of emotions does not trigger an entirely justified but inexpedient upsurge of emotions in Moscow in the opposite direction, that people there will display benevolence and look primarily for the rational grain in the decisions of the republic Supreme Soviet which can be taken into account in the course of preparations for the extraordinarily important CPSU Central Committee plenum devoted to improving interethnic relations. It would hardly be sensible to adopt republic laws on Estonian SSR state language and citizenship prior to that plenum. It seems beyond question to me that so far the ballyhoo around these laws has produced only one result—a tangible exacerbation of interethnic relations in the republic. It is necessary to cool down a bit before returning to these draft laws.

It would probably not go amiss to also give some thought to the gnosiological and class (or historical) roots of the current bitter ideological and political struggle in the Soviet Baltic republics (and not just there).

Specific (or rather highly obscure) forces are very persistently heating up ethnic and—let's not be afraid to say it—unbridled nationalist passions, shrinking from nothing. These forces have achieved a fair amount of success. Latvian SSR prosecutor Ya. Dzenitis (PRAVDA 19 November) wrote about several typical methods and about the fact that mass media in his republic, with the exception of the newspapers CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, are virtually outside the scope of party monitoring and influence. I assume that a very similar situation has also developed in Estonia. Editors of a number of newspapers either personally and keenly participate in the fanning of passions or, intimidated and afraid of moral terrorism, play mainly a one-sided game.

For example, during his visit to Estonia V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, drew attention to the fact that the "Popular Front" (consisting mainly of Estonians) and the Interdvizheniye [presumably "International Movement"] (comprising mainly non-Estonians) enjoy quite unequal opportunities: The "Popular Front" has the opportunity to talk as much as it likes on radio and television, the press is full of statements about the "People's Front" positions, while Interdvizheniye does not enjoy any such opportunity. It must be added that some newspapers eagerly print malicious and downright hooligan attacks on Interdvizheniye.

Of course, the republic needs consolidation of all forces rather than confrontation. But a consolidation achieved through merciless suppression of all dissidence is not worth a single penny. It must be emphasized that all dissidence is indeed being suppressed, even in what would seem to be relatively neutral cognitive issues like demography, for example.

Here is a typical example of mutual protection by mass media against the truth. At a joint plenum of creative unions, one of our writers painted a perfectly imaginary picture of the demographic situation in Estonia, another one immediately picked up this fantasy, ETA transmitted a summary to all newspapers, and three newspapers reported everything in full detail. Some 7 months passed. In all this time, only one newspaper—MOLODEZH ESTONII—decided to give its readers facts and figures clearly disproving the fantasies whose essence, briefly speaking, boils down to a claim that Soviet power is to blame for everything. The truth is, as ever, diligently concealed from readers who do not know Russian. Estonia seems to be once more surrounded by barbed wire, maybe invisible this time but perfectly effective in performing a certain role: To keep from Estonian ears facts and figures which hinder the fanning of nationalist passions.

It is unusually easy to manipulate mass awareness nurtured on a strict spiritual diet. The birth rate in Estonia is indeed low. If this is presented in the most dramatic tone possible, and if one keeps silent about the fact that it began long before the establishment of Soviet power in Estonia, that the birth rate in West and North European countries has been even lower for a long time and is continuing to fall, that the same trend has been observed in our country's European part in the last few years, and so on, it is quite easy to bring readers to the conclusion which was drawn in statements and articles: Soviet power ("incompetent government") has created the threat of... the Estonian nation's **withering away**! No more and no less! Despite the fact that the number of Estonians is increasing, albeit slowly, those who like to feel scared and to scare others have already started depicting all this as follows: Soon enough there won't be a single one of us left! There it is. And editors are only too pleased to print this rubbish....

It is perhaps worth noting in particular the most blatant one of all these fabrications. One line is deleted from Finland's official demographic forecast, and the result inevitably gives readers the impression that something just short of a demographic explosion is being observed in Finland. Meanwhile, the deleted lines of this forecast

make it clearly visible that birth rate continues to fall in Finland while death rate (due to the population's aging) is rising. According to this forecast, in around 12 years or so death rate will exceed birth rate and population numbers will start **falling.** (Denmark has already reached this stage.)

All this is still diligently concealed from Estonian readers. Otherwise one of the opportunities to work them up against Soviet power would be lost. Briefly speaking, what is going on is a desperate and in some way very interesting struggle for people's hearts and minds, a struggle which I have tried to illustrate by means of admittedly isolated yet typical examples. Nevertheless, there is one aspect of the struggle which still has to be mentioned. Here is the venomous advice offered by Mephistopheles: Should there be a shortage of ideas, they can be replaced by mere words! And this is what is happening. Most of the juggling is being done, for example, using the words "sovereignty," "the people," and "democracy."

At the very least we probably ought to emphasize that no sovereignty can be absolute. Something will always have to be given up. When people marry they give up a large proportion of their financial, entertainment, sexual, indeed every kind of sovereignty. For the sake of joint interests! A constructive discussion of questions concerning the sovereignty of union republics must lead to realization of the optimal limits of reciprocal concessions. Waving the banner of maximalism can only lead into a blind alley.

The idea of "the people" is also highly complex and contradictory. Only a demagogue sees it all clearly: He is the people. None of the dissidents are the people: They are bureaucrats, migrants, Stalinists. For example, the Estonian press is literally overflowing with the word "heterogeneous"—this word apparently has no insulting overtones. But of course only when used by an Estonian. God preserve a Georgian or a Russian who describes an Estonian as heterogeneous. The least that will happen will be a fit of hysterics.

In olden times this was known as Hottentot logic: If you devour my bride, it is very bad; but if I devour yours, it is good!

Our common home—the USSR—will grow stronger as we get rid of the Hottentot logic and realize that genuine human national relations are symmetrical relations.

Popular Front's Velliste Cited

PM2311110488 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 19 Nov 88 p 11

[Report on interview with Estonian Popular Front activist Trivimi Velliste by Stig Kankkonen: "Popular Front Activist Velliste: The Kremlin Will Understand Us"—date, place unspecified]

[Text] "Moscow has its view. We have ours. This is something that the Kremlin will understand when the people there have thought over the situation in peace and quiet."

So said Trivimi Velliste of reports that the day before yesterday the Supreme Soviet condemned the Estonian Parliament's decision that Estonian laws take precedence over Soviet laws.

Velliste is chairman of the Estonian popular movement, "Muinsuskaitse Selts," and therefore one of the most prominent figures in the struggle for an independent Estonia.

Trivimi Velliste is well aware that such views could be considered provocative, but he said that people who take such a view do not know what is really at stake in Estonia at present.

"Now the time is ripe for revolution and we are in the process of carrying out a smiling revolution," Velliste explained.

"We are not striving for a single thing to which we are not entitled. What we want is quite simply something on which you cannot compromise. What is at stake is freedom and honor, a human being's right to determine his or her own fate.

"The only reasonable thing for Moscow and the Kremlin to do now is to realize that what is happening in Estonia is the best thing imaginable. If they do not do so and instead prevent us from achieving our natural rights there will be problems which the Soviet Union will be unable to handle," Trivimi Velliste said.

"The worst thing that could happen is that the opposition from Moscow becomes so compact that it brings into being a situation corresponding to that in Northern Ireland. And that is not in Moscow's interest, I assure you.

"Once it has been realized that developments in Estonia are positive, we could become an example of the general developments in the spirit of restructuring and glasnost. Neither more nor less.

"We should also remember that Estonia is something of a shopwindow for Soviet policies. And you don't behave just anyhow in a shopwindow."

Trivimi Velliste has received open criticism of his frank views in Estonia too. His critics have taken the view that he does not have both feet on the ground but is floating about in the clouds of idealism. He is very aware of this criticism, but it does not upset him.

"As I already said: When the time for revolution has come you have to act. The revolution is not a coffee table round which you simply chat [snarvlar], nor is it a theater where you play certain roles and deliver well rehearsed lines. Revolution is life," Velliste said.

"What is at stake now is the life of the Estonians and that of the Baltic states.

"I would like to point out to the Kremlin that what is also at stake is the life of the Soviet Union and that of the whole Russian people and of all the good endeavors they talk about. If they try to strangle development in the Baltic states the end result will be a total collapse."

Trivimi Velliste justified this conclusion with the argument that Western states will not be able to accept in silence that developments in the Baltic region are strangled by force.

"What are at stake now are fundamental principles, to which no one can close his eyes and on which no one can compromise.

"For the Baltic states the question is whether they are free states like Finland, France, England, or Sweden. Or are we a second-class people about whom no one needs to care?"

As far as Finland's attitude to developments in the Baltic region is concerned, Trivimi Velliste said it was impossible to expect more support than had been given.

"We understand Finland's position and everyone sees how well Finland has managed its relations with the Soviet Union. In Estonia we have learned much from Finland and are bound still to have a lot to learn.

"I think at any rate that people in Finland have perhaps not fully realized that with the new Soviet policies there is greater room for maneuver than in the past.

"On the other hand this is understandable, because developments have taken place so incredibly quickly."

As far as developments in Estonia are concerned the Estonians find themselves in the same situation. They simply do not know how quickly they should act. But on one point agreement is total:

"We want a peaceful, smiling revolution."

According to Trivimi Velliste, the demand for independence does not mean that people should close their eyes to legitimate Soviet interests.

"For my part, I am prepared to work for cooperation at all levels. Even in the military sector. We realize that Estonia belongs to the Soviet sphere of interest and that Soviet bases, for example, could be necessary inside Estonia's borders.

"But among friends negotiations over such issues are neither unusual nor impossible," Velliste said.

Trivimi Velliste was in Helsinki for a few hours yesterday on a journey from Bergen in Norway back home to Tallinn. The reason for his visit to Norway was that he had been awarded a human rights prize. The prize was founded last year and has been awarded only once before—to former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister and Charter 77 activist Jiri Hajek.

Latvian Supsov on USSR Constitutional Reform

LD2211203588 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1900 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] This evening the Latvian Supreme Soviet—its parliament—discussed the disputed reform of the Soviet Constitution. The dispute concerns the differences in views between the country's central leadership and the Baltic states on constitutional reform. Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunov made it clear before the session that some of the proposed constitutional changes are not compatible with the Soviet republic's autonomy and the principle of equality. According to the president, a totally negative stance on the constitutional reform proposal leads nowhere. Some representatives of the Latvian Popular Front have previously taken a stronger stance on the matter, directly opposing Moscow, following the example of the Estonian Popular Front and Parliament.

Several speakers at the parliament session demanded constitutional guarantees on the republics' right to self-government. As the discussion continued in the parliament building, a number of demonstrators gathered outside the building, demanding greater independence and a reduction in the bureaucracy.

Proposals Supported 'in Principle'

LD2211220188 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 2100 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpts] The Supreme Soviet of Latvia tonight discussed the constitutional reforms being prepared in Moscow. The Latvian Parliament chose a cautious line. Anders Eriksson reports from Helsinki:

[Eriksson] The changes to the Soviet Constitution, which are now being prepared, have been met by broad popular opposition in the three Baltic republics. According to the Baltics, they mean further concentration of power in Moscow.

The Latvian Supreme Soviet decided that it would support the proposal in principle, but proposed certain changes, among other things strengthening the status of the republics. In this way they chose the same line as the Lithuanian parliament last Friday, and did not, as the Estonians did, decide to veto decisions made in Moscow.

Latvian Supreme Soviet President Anatoliy Gorbunov said that the highest leadership must be told that some of their proposals are not in line with the principle of sovereignty of the republics, but he also said that a totally opposing attitude is not a successful way. The Latvian Popular Front had demanded a harder line and has now called for demonstrations on Saturday since the parliament did not take their stance. [passage omitted]

1989 State Plan Adopted

LD2311112288 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Riga November 23 TASS—The task of securing the irreversible character of perestroyka, or restructuring, through concrete deeds can be described as the main content of the latest session of the supreme soviet (parliament) of Latvia.

The principal indicators and assignments of the next year plan had been published in the press for public discussion for the first time before the beginning of a session.

A programme of work that has been adopted gives top priority to the development of the agro-industrial complex.

Acting with due account for the opinion of the republic's population, the deputies adopted a law on the state plan of Soviet Latavia's economic and social development in 1989, a resolution on the implementation of the 1988 plan and a law on the republic's state budget for 1989.

The session heard a report by V.A. Nizhnik, first deputy chairman of Latvia's State Committee for Industry, on progress in providing the population with quality shoes in sufficient quantity, as demanded by deputies.

A substantive discussion was held on the draft laws of the USSR on changes to the federal constitution and on elections of people's deputies.

After acknowledging that the documents constituted the first, basic step towards restructuring the political system proclaimed by the 19th nationwide party conference, the deputies approved provisions in the draft laws which, in their view, corresponded to processes of democratization.

They also adopted a package of proposals on amending the draft provisions related to the electoral system, sovereignty of the union republics and constitutional inspection.

Jan Vagris, first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, took part in the session.

Latvian Popular Front Disclaims 'Party' Label

PM2211152588 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 November 1988 devotes some two-thirds of its page 4 to a "Dialogue" feature, introduced by the following boxed remarks printed in boldface italics:

"It would be no exaggeration to say that the whole country's attention is riveted on the events now taking place in the Baltic republics. Major changes are occurring there—in the political, economic, and social spheres. These events are also the subject of keen coverage abroad.

"This interest is logical. The Soviet Baltic republics have become a kind of laboratory of restructuring. Popular fronts and movements are gathering strength. Platforms of new public organizations, ideas of regional economic accountability, and programs for preserving national originality are being put forward and widely discussed. The ranks of the ecological movement's members are swelling.

"The program documents are highly attractive in appearance. Popular Front leaders do not fail to emphasize in statements and interviews with the mass media that all revolutionary changes are being accomplished for the sake of the people's prosperity. Absolutely all residents of the republics will gain from them.

"But what happens to the loud slogans and calls once they disappear from the newspaper pages? Quite often, alas, they undergo strange transformations. They often acquire a clearly detectable flavor of nationalism. Noble slogans are often debased and become shallow. And the work by some activists begins to lean toward kitchen squabbles.

"Many of our readers from the Baltic republics write with alarm about all this. They report instances of the manifestation of national dissension. Sharing our readers' worries, we are giving them the floor.

"Of course, 'Dialogue' cannot claim to fully cover the events occurring in the Baltic republics. And it would be both premature and inappropriate to somehow close this discussion."

The main item of the "Dialogue" feature is the following "Topical!" interview with Daynis Ivans, leader of the Latvian Popular Front and delegate to the 19th all-union party conference, by S. Stepenkov in Riga, on an unspecified date, published under the headline "'Secession Is Totally Out of the Question.' Daynis Ivans, Leader of the Latvian Popular Front and delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, Answers Our Correspondent's Questions":

"[Stepenkov] And so, the Latvian Popular Front Constituent Congress is over. A new organization has been founded. Describe the tasks and goals of the Latvian Popular Front.

"[Ivans] To start with, allow me to quote the opening lines of our Statute: 'The Latvian Popular Front is a mass public-political organization of the republic which emerged as a result of the people's patriotic activeness and which actively supports and participates in the

radical restructuring of our society in line with the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference resolutions.' I make special mention of this. After all, the first question very many people ask of us is not about the goals and tasks of the Latvian Popular Front but about the mutual relations between the Popular Front and the Communist Party.

"I am a member of the CPSU. Some two-thirds of Latvian Popular Front members are also Communists. The front's goal is to unite all democratic and progressive forces for the creation of a rule-of-law state in Latvia, of a democratic society where life would be governed by laws and not by the arbitrariness or whim of individual leaders."

"[Stepenkov] Much was said at the Popular Front congress about eliminating the bureaucratic apparatus, about eradicating the diktat of all-union ministries and departments over the republic government. One of the ways suggested by delegates was the implementation of the principles of sovereignty on the republic's territory. Is this latter not likely to make Latvia's non-Latvian population feel uncomfortable? This alarms many citizens. Let me cite a few lines from the letter by jurist Ye. Pozdnyakova from the city of Olayne: 'Even my most distant relatives in the past have lived and worked in Latvia from time immemorial. I am by no means a great exception among them. Just a year ago I considered myself a normal, statistically average person, but now I am being told that I am a second-rate person since all this time I have been "oppressing" the Latvian nation by my unlawful presence on Latvian territory. Also, quite likely, that I am an occupier.

"'So, where is my motherland (given that every person must have one)? Russia—because I speak Russian? Poland—because my passport lists me as Polish? Or maybe Latvia itself, where I was born, educated, lived, and gave birth to my child?'

"You must agree, this is a bitter and alarming letter.

"[Ivans] We will aim for sovereignty for all, I emphasize for all, and in the interests of all inhabitants of our republic regardless of their nationality. We wish to have the fruits of our labor remain in the republic and not be placed at the disposal of all-union departments. This is one of the foundations on which we can raise the activeness of the masses. If people feel that living standards are improving through their work and their aspirations, they will be even more interested in everything.

"[Stepenkov] This is understandable. But, as you may recall, one of the Finnish journalists at the first post-congress news conference, which was incidentally broadcast throughout the republic on radio and television, was meticulously curious: Could the struggle for 'republican sovereignty' ultimately lead to Latvia's secession from the USSR?

"[Ivans] Secession is totally out of the question. For us sovereignty means accurately defining the functions within the republic's jurisdiction. They are the republic's right to use its veto on questions affecting its interests. Sovereignty the way we understand it also means an opportunity to establish direct relations between union republics and foreign states, primarily economic relations. We believe that only the military and diplomatic apparatus must be common for all republics within the federation of Soviet republics, while the remaining spheres are covered by natural economic, political, and cultural mutual relations.

"It was no accident that we proclaimed the thesis of enhancing republics' autonomy [samostoyatelnost] and decentralization at the 19th party conference. Today it is obvious that, in a vast state like ours, it is impossible to govern and live according to nothing but instructions from above. If the republics are autonomous and strong, the state, our entire union, will also be strong. In Latvia—and I say this with the utmost responsibility—there is no political force which could effect a secession from the Soviet Union. But we obviously must think about creating a federation of equal and autonomous republics for which secession or expulsion from the federation would be the greatest punishment, the most serious calamity.

"[Stepenkov] What is being done in the republic today, what practical steps are being taken to expand its autonomy?"

"[Ivans] A concept of the republic's economic development is being elaborated and discussed, with all materials published in the local press. The Latvian SSR Gosplan, jointly with the Estonian and Lithuanian Gosplans, decided to introduce full economic accountability for the republics. The Latvian language was given the status of state language. Latvia's cultural and historical symbolism has been 'rehabilitated' and recognized—the red-white-red flag, the historical national anthem, and the different national symbols and seals. This does not mean that any of the interests of other peoples living in Latvia are being infringed. All this was done mostly in order to boost the national awareness of the Latvian people and of the republic's peoples.

"The Latvians' cultural autonomy [avtonomiya] at this stage also generated rapid growth of the national awareness of Latvia's other peoples. Cultural societies were founded in our republic by Baltic Slavs, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Belorussians, gypsies.... National and human awareness are closely interlinked.

"Complications in interethnic relations and the groundless claims being made today by some people against others divert energy from our joint work for the common benefit. Many people who strive to divide the republic's society along national lines fail to realize that this is to their own disadvantage.

"[Stepenkov] How will the Popular Front operate in the wake of the congress and what is it doing? What are your duties as chairman of the Popular Front?

"[Ivans] My first task is to organize the work of the Duma set up by the congress and to assign tasks to members of the Board and all members of the Duma. I will strive not to issue edicts but to coordinate and combine all our joint work.

"[Stepenkov] The Popular Front statute and program give much attention to monitoring. One gets the impression that the Latvian Popular Front intends to monitor everyone—from the party to the soviets and the Komsomol.

"[Ivans] No, that is not at all so. We always maintain that our state and party apparatus, soviets, and economic organs serve the people. But the people have never had an opportunity to monitor these organs. What we want is to really make them serve the people. If need be we would help our government, but we would never allow actions which run contrary to the principles of our program, to democracy, and to people's interests.

"The Popular Front will participate in the discussion of important draft laws. We have already received a promise from A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, that henceforth Popular Front members will have open access to the work of Latvia's Supreme Soviet sessions. We will be able not only to listen but also to take part in the sessions' work. And we will probably nominate our own deputies.

"[Stepenkov] So the Popular Front really is a party?

"[Ivans] The Popular Front is not a party. I have already told you that it is a public-political organization. We do not claim the role of a party. Nor can we do so, because we unite party members, nonparty people, and representatives of various informal groups and associations. The goal of the Popular Front is not to alienate people but to unite them. We do not want any confrontation, we want cooperation. It does seem to me that the Popular Front at this stage is the most acceptable organization for the vast masses of people who have hitherto stood aside and tried to decide which wing—the right or the left—to join. They did not accept either the positions of 'dogmatists' or the ideas of the 'new extremists.' The Popular Front already unites over 100,000 members. This is a sound guarantee that restructuring will not get bogged down in Latvia."

In a 400-word "Rejoinder" under the headline "Copycats," A. Chudakov takes issue with Lithuania's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA [as published] which, in its 11 November issue, reportedly carried a resolution by the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee and a blank form to be filled in by readers expressing their opinion on the proposed USSR constitutional amendments and additions. Chudakov finds it "amazing that, while advocating democracy, Lithuania's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA uses methods which are by no means democratic." According to him, the newspaper offered its readers "the simple option of signing the letter from 'Sajudis' to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium demanding an end to the discussion" of the draft law. The author asks: "And what if there are some Komsomol members in the republic who disagree with the conclusions drawn by 'Sajudis?' What document will they sign, and where is it?"

A 200-word dispatch by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's own correspondent V. Shutkevich, entitled "The View from Warsaw," reports on the coverage given to the constituent congress of Lithuania's "Sajudis" by Warsaw's newspaper KULTURA and its criticism of claims to economic independence and of "illusory hopes for major assistance from emigres living in the West."

The remainder of the feature is devoted to four readers' letters "From the Recent Mailbag"—from a long-distance truck driver who was recently in Estonia, a resident of Vilnius, a quality controller in Riga, and a candidate of historical sciences in Riga. They are all critical of "nationalistic feelings" in the Baltic republics.

Georgia Supsov Discusses Economic Plan

LD2311112788 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Tbilisi November 23 TASS—The Communist Party's course towards revolutionary change calls for enhancing the role and increasing the responsibility of soviets, or councils, of people's deputies at all levels.

Determining to a large extent the pace of change, the governing councils are called upon to use as fully as possible the great powers vested in them and the opportunities they possess to ensure qualitative economic growth, resolve social problems and improve living standards.

These issues were discussed today at a session of the supreme soviet (parliament) of Georgia which examined the state plan of economic and social development and the state budget of the republic for 1989.

In analyzing Soviet Georgia's economic situation, deputies pointed to some improvements in the major indicators of economic performance. It was stated at the same time that the difficulties and shortcomings that emerged in the recent times had not been fully overcome.

The planned pace of industrial production growth was not met. The fuel and energy, machine-building, agro-industrial and social complexes were lagging behind five-year-plan assignments.

Speakers at the session advanced specific proposals for importing new quality to economic growth and improving the well-being of the people through introducing

self-management based on cost-accountancy of public production and ensuring stable and balanced development of economic branches.

The republic's budget has been oriented at attaining these objectives. It envisages the concentration of finances on implementing progressive structural changes in the economy and deepening perestroyka in economic life.

The deputies approved decrees of the presidium of Georgia's Supreme Soviet and considered other issues.

Dzhumber Patiashvili, first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee, took part in the session.

Crowd Demonstrates Outside Meeting

AU2311132788 Paris AFP in English 1314 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, Nov 23 (AFP)—Crowds of Georgian demonstrators gathered Wednesday in front of the parliament in Tbilisi, the capital of Soviet Georgia, where deputies were discussing proposed changes to the Soviet Constitution, an official spokesman told AFP.

The official from the Georgian Foreign Ministry, Konstantin Gedevanishvili, contacted by telephone said that "a lot of people" were outside the assembly building but would not estimate the number of demonstrators. No details as to the organisers were available.

Earlier this month, more than 100,000 Georgians had demonstrated against what they called the "Russification" of the southern republic, neighbouring Armenia and Azerbaijan where ethnic relations are also tense. [passage omitted]

Korolyev on Public Reaction to Reform Bills

LD2211130988 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The Soviet press widely publishes responses, including critical ones, to draft laws on reforms of the Soviet political system. They raise poignant issues and express alternative positions and views. What is people's attitude to these documents, currently discussed nationwide, in letters which they address to state bodies and, in particular, to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet?

"The mail which we receive is very interesting and different," Yuriy Korolyev, deputy head of a department of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in a TASS interview. "I would say that there are all kinds of letters: criticism of the draft laws, remarks, advice, recommendations and totally new proposals. Some reject the laws outright or propose to postpone their consideration. But most responses are positive, they support the CPSU-proposed political reform: People hail the very fact of reform and its democratic thrust. The overwhelming majority of letters out of the 120,000 which have been received already by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet suggests only rewording or expresses full approval for the documents."

"Can one conclude from your words that there are more responses with remarks and proposals than there have been before during the discussion of draft laws?"

"This is quite understandable," Yuriy Korolev said. "First, perestroyka markedly enhanced grassroots political activity. People started to think more about state affairs. Second, a purely psychological factor: A man who agrees with the provisions of a draft law will not always write about it. The one who notices a drawback in the draft or sees a possibility to improve it takes the pen more often. People opposed to a draft law are most certain to state their position. Therefore we, lawyers, believe that although 120,000 responses are a lot, they certainly don't represent a lot of our more than 285 million population."

"However, negative comments also reflect the will of a certain part of the population."

"Certainly," Yuriy Korolyev said. "But it is 'a certain part of the population'. Besides, I would like to stress that the discussion of the draft laws and responses cannot be taken as the will of the people. All the more so since some protest letters were literally written with carbon paper and some were even printed. The true will of the people will be expressed by the 1,500 deputies of the Soviet parliament who will hold a session in Moscow next wek."

"Will it be democratic to discuss the draft laws on reform of the political system if one of the union republics, Estonia, is opposed to it and believes that the discussion should be postponed?"

"The representatives of Estonia will be given the floor at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet not just to set out but also to substantiate their position. Then the deputies will listen to the representatives of other republics as well, both union and autonomous republics. Given the size of the population, such autonomous republics as Tatar and Bashkir are several times larger than Estonia, for example. The issue will naturally be decided by democratic voting."

Professor Interviewed on Soviet Reform

WA18120018 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 44, Oct 88 pp 42-44

[Interview with Lev Kopelev, professor of German philology and history, by Alexei Bukalov, in Cologne; date not given]

[Text] Lev Kopelev, Professor of German philology and history, is one of those who has been driven out of the Soviet Union in recent decades. A Soviet Army officer

during World War II, he fought his way to Berlin. Later he was arrested on the strength of a false denunciation and served a ten-year prison term. After his release, Kopelev did much translation and studied German literature. In 1980 he and his wife, author Raissa Orlova, went to the FRG on the invitation of Heinrich Boll, and two months later both of them were stripped of their Soviet citizenship for "behavior unworthy of a Soviet citizen." What was meant was Kopelev's opposition to the practices of the stagnation period. When I was in Bonn, I contacted him in Cologne and asked him for an interview. "Please come," he said,—"it will be my first interview with a Soviet journalist for many years."

NEW TIMES: Surrounded by books and scientific surveys, as if in an ivory tower, you look like a scholar detached from the trivia of the world. What kind of information about the Soviet Union is available here, and what is your assessment of the developments at home?

Lev Kopelev: For two years my wife and I have been eagerly reading Moscow newspapers and magazines. We have subscribed to the Literaturnaya Gazeta, Ogonyok, Novy Mir, Druzhba Narodov and Znamya. Friends share what they have with us, for example, Oktyabr and the Literaturnoye Obozrenie. I also buy Pravda and Izvestia at the station. Back home we never read these publications with such interest. I must admit that reading diverts much of my attention from work....

News from home fill us with a mixed feeling of hope and doubt, joy and sorrow. For us men of letters spiritual aspects of a nation's life are of the utmost importance. What is going on now has no precedent in history. Since the 1920s I have been a most attentive reader, but I can't say I remember anything like this when it comes to the scale and the profundity of the critical reappraisal of the past, and—recently—of the present, too. I well remember discussion leaflets of 1927, but they can't be compared to present-day events. Today everything is being discussed on a new level, more thoroughly and profoundly. For me these facts are a further confirmation of the idea I had conceived in Moscow and first put forward in my most important book, "Power and the People." This is the idea that the history of the state and the history of the national culture are altogether different things, which can of course intersect, sometimes merge or be identified by human naivety, but which nevertheless are quite different things. States and parties as political forces come and go, their existence is confined to decades, whereas nations with their cultural history live for millennia.

The process that we are now witnessing in Russia is a very specific one. There is a proverb that goes: "A fish starts to rot from the head." Social recovery in the Soviet Union has been initiated at the top—"The whale has started recovering from the head"—but the efforts of the leadership are unlikely to be adequate without the support of the people....

There is much that we rejoice at. There are many joys and many discoveries. For example, I first listened to Akhmatova's "Requiem" in 1961 when Mrs Nadezhda Mandelstam took me to the poet's house in one of the old streets of Moscow. I sat with my eyes fixed on Akhmatova, though I made every effort not to stare. She said: "I shall read to you now, but please, no notes." Then she recited her famous poem. I was spellbound and asked her to read it again. After that I screwed up my courage and told her: "Had the 'Requiem' been your only poem, you would still have been the greatest poet of the century."

Akhmatova didn't seem surprised to hear these words. She was not spoiled by praise, but she always knew what she was worth. I wanted to kneel and kiss her dress. Lydia Chukovskaya says no more than ten people knew the "Requiem" by heart. I confess my meanness: as soon as I left the flat I started putting down the lines I remembered. Today "Requiem" has been published in full, the poem is read from the stage, broadcast over the radio.... That is a joy, a real triumph. It exists and there is no way it can be driven back to the past. Akhmatova, Bulgakov, Platonov, Pasternak, Mandelstam, Dombovsky and Grossman have returned to Soviet literature.

Speaking of Grossman, I would like to tell you that a special charity fund was set up in the FRG to raise money for the publication of his now famous novel in German. We called the fund "East-West" (a line from Goethe). Heinrich Boll, together with other well-known writers, is a member of the management board. Twenty-five thousand marks were donated to the fund, and thanks to these donations Grossman's novel appeared in 1982. We also decided to help writers who are refused publication at home. Many deserving books have thus appeared in the German translation, among them Chukovskaya's reminiscences of Akhmatova, two novels by Kornilov, etc. The board meets once a year at the annual International Book Fair in Frankfort-on-Main. This year's convention was rather hectic—we were confronted with an unexpected problem: most of the books we considered serious and important are now freely published in the East. Such "troubles" are to be welcomed.

N.T.: Members of your foundation could find themselves unemployed some day.

L.K.: Yes, the danger does exist. But since our fund is working and substantially and reliably assisted, I suggested that it activity be modified: for example, we could venture to publish an information bulletin with abstracts from new Soviet publications, works appearing in Eastern Europe, critical reviews, literary chronicles.

Coming back to what we've been discussing, I can say that the processes under way in the cultural life of Russia make us happy. We've waited for far too long. It's marvelous.

As for my doubts and misgivings, they are understandable. Freedom is universal, it applies to everybody. One can't but be alarmed by the developments in the Transcaucasian regions. The reports from Sumgait were horrifying. On the other hand, the flourishing of the Pamyat society and similar organizations are also perceived as dangerous....

Reports of the shortage of consumer goods and staple food also upset us. The triumph of the spiritual is a great thing, but even without indulging in vulgar materialism one understand that there can hardly be real cultural progress when people are hungary.... Our attention was riveted by the reports of organized crime in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Central Russia. Rumours about it did reach us, but now we have been able to read a frank and convincing account of the actual events in the newspapers....

That is why I wish Gorbachev every success. I think he is finding it hard, but he is continuing his efforts with vigour, and today evidence of profound changes abounds. It is very important for me that my wife has been allowed to visit Moscow.

N.T.: Are you going to visit Moscow yourself?

L.K.: Of course I'll come if they invite me. Akhmatova wrote: "Wolves' field, yellow straw. One lives in freedom, but dies at home." It's time I thought of that too, after all I'm already 76. Certainly I have no special conditions for my homecoming, but I must finish my work. I am already working on the third volume of my research.

N.T.: Could you tell us about your work in greater detail?

L.K.: It is a fundamental study of Russian-German contacts, of what the Russians thought of Germany and what the Germans thought of Russia. It is my "Wuppertal project," as we call it, and, by the way, it's the source of my income.... Germany as seen by Russians and Russia as seen by Germans in the course of a millennium. We plan to compile an eight-volume treatise.

As a student, some 50 years ago or more, I dreamed of writing a book, "Russia and Russians in German Literature." I was greatly impressed by the fact that it was the German poet Paul Fleming who first wrote verse about Moscow (and not only Moscow—he wrote about Novgorod, about the Volga and the Oka rivers). That was three and a half centuries ago, in 1637-1638. After my release the first thing I did was to translate Fleming's sonnet, and it was published in Ogonyok. (Strictly speaking, I was not the first to undertake the translation. The Russian poet Sumaroko had already done it in the middle of the 18th century.) Later I realized that the history of Russo-German ties is not work for one man. We have been writing these books for six years. There are five of us—I am the editor and compiler.

N.T.: What periods of history does the last volume cover?

L.T.: The book ends on the eve of WWI, i.e., in 1914. This year is a critical point in history. Again a line of Akhmatova's comes to mind: "The real 20th century was coming...." Moreover, we published a supplementary of a sort. For example, this year we published a volume named "Germany and Russia in Poetry: 1900-1933." Included in this book are poems by Blok, Tretyakov, Kirsanov, Sasha Cherny, Khodasevich, Akhmatova.... Very different poets. Of course one can't say we followed the chronological principle very strictly. Akhmatova, for one, did not write anything about Germany in the specified period of time, but her small poem "Faust from Afar" (1945) seems inalienable from the book.

Many years of comparative studies in German and Russian literature have led me to a simple conclusion: no country but Russia inspired so many German writers: Paul Fleming, Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Heinrich Boll, Johannes Bobrowski, Anna Seghers.... Thomas Mann said Russian literature was sacred.

On the other hand, no country but Russia gave the world such writers as Zhukovsky, who used to call himself a Russian German, or Turgenev, or Tsvetayeva, who wrote: "Germany is my madness, Germany is my love," or Pasternak.... Spiritual contacts between our peoples have existed in spite of everything. These contacts made up the theme of our book. This undertaking is very dear to me, so even if I settle in Moscow for good, I'll have to shuttle between Moscow and Cologne....

N.T.: What is your assessment of modern Russian literature abroad? Soviet readers know next to nothing about it....

L.K.: Very often the question arises: can we regard Russian literature abroad as a closed system? Many of my colleagues here have told me that in the Soviet Union only official literature exists, while the genuine literature is here.

During my first two years in the West I tried to associate with the Russians living here. I even attended some congresses in Paris, Vienna and other places. Later my contacts with emigre circles grew weaker and weaker. This of course does not apply to friends, Georgy Vladimov, for example. The later Victor Nekrasov was also a good friend of mine. I'm on quite friendly terms with Andrei Sinyavsky. But I soon lost interest in emigre get-togethers. I can say the same of the emigre press, except the Munich-based Forum and the Paris-based Sintaksis. Other publications have a clear-cut attitude: there is a free Russian literature in the West, but in the Soviet Union literature is oppressed and conformist, if it exists at all. These assertions are utterly absurd. In a sense they are just the same as what we were taught, but vice versa: emigre literature means counterrevolution and capitalism, and don't you dare touch it. Both

extremes are of course stupid. Bunin and Tvardovsky, Nabokov and Paustovsky belong to one literature. There are no "closed systems." I don't mention Akhmatova, Pasternak and Mandelstam, whose works are published in the West earlier and more fully. It is one great literature. When arguing with some of my colleagues, I often say, here we have talented writers, but literature is there, literary life is there, the readers are there. This is an unescapable fact. It can't be otherwise. It's quite natural for people to think differently. Herzen and Dostoyevsky had very different views, but both of them belong to Russian literature. Chekhov and Blok professed entirely different ideas of the world, but both of them belong to one literature. What we see today is a similar process.

A dramatic reappraisal of values is under way, and many names are coming back from oblivion. Arguments and discussions are going on in Moscow kitchens and here alike. Good books and bad books are written in Paris and in Vologda alike. Who is working most successfully here? I don't consider myself a critic, but I'll voice my opinion. Vladimov is a very prolific writer, his novel, "The General and His Army" is likely to make an event in Russian literature. To date only extracts have been published. His work is agonizingly difficult, he rewrites one and the same chapter many times. But his is really outstanding prose. The late Nekrasov worked very productively as well. His last collected works, his "A Short, Sad Novella" is good prose. Josef Brodsky is a wonderful poet, no matter what people might think of him as a man. A poet's life is always more difficult. Voinovich is a very talented writer, but now he is absorbed in newspaper satire. Another prolific writer is Sinyavsky, whose book on Rozanov and "Goon Night" are remarkable. A very interesting book is his "In the Shadow of Gogol," which enraged Solzhenitsyn and many others. It's the story of a talent corrupted by ideology. The book is audacious. I can't agree with everything in it, but it is a glittering piece of prose full of talent and wit.

N.T.: Do Russian writers living abroad have any difficulties in finding readers?

L.K.: Of course such difficulties exist and it is very upsetting for everyone. But one shouldn't really think of them—otherwise you won't be able to write. We also have our readers. The Paris-based Russkaya Mysl has a circulation of some 500 copies, Novoye Russkoye Slovo in New York has a bigger circulation, but it is still not sufficient.... If one is a genuine writer, if writing is one's life, then the absence of readers is a torment. But one shouldn't think of it. One must write for the sake of the written word, be possessed by the word.

Agricultural

Nikonov Addresses Farm Scientists Conference

PM1811153588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Nov 88 p 2

[TASS report on 16 November Krasnodar all-union conference: "Scientific Potential for the Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] Krasnodar, 17 Nov—Measures to improve scientific services for the country's agro-industrial complex were discussed at an all-union scientific and practical conference held in Krasnodar.

It was attended by directors of agro-industrial complex scientific research institutes; leaders and specialists from republic, kray, and oblast scientific service centers, science and production and production systems, and base farms and enterprises; VUZ rectors; scientists from fraternal countries; leaders and specialists from the USSR Gosagroprom, agro-industrial complex ministries and departments, and USSR economic departments; and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the conference's work.

Academician A.A. Nikonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKHNIL], opened the conference and delivered a report. He emphasized that substantial changes have taken place in agrarian science in the wake of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Improvement of Scientific Services for the Development of the Country's Agro-Industrial Complex." For the first time, agrarian science is working not only for agriculture but for the entire agro-industrial complex. Scientific service centers have been set up in republics, krays, and oblasts, and production and science and production systems are in operation.

The speaker focused attention mainly on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress under the conditions of restructuring. This, it was noted, needs strong scientific collectives. Strong not in terms of numbers but in terms of minds, ideas, suggestions, and developments. Capable of supplying every farm or lease collective, and the peasants themselves, with improved knowledge and means of production within the shortest possible time.

However, scientific institutions are still slow in elaborating mechanized technologies for small livestock units, which are so badly needed by leaseholders and family farms. The processing industry has yet to become a matter of special concern for scientists. There must be radical improvement in the training of scientific cadres, especially in the priority spheres of biotechnology, computerization, and systems analysis.

The VASKHNIL president also identified the problems whose solutions are beyond the capabilities of scientific collectives alone. For example, the material and technical base of science is still being consolidated only slowly. The targets set by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for the production of fundamentally new scientific equipment, means of automation, instruments, small equipment, and equipment for selection work are not being fulfilled.

L.N. Petrova, general director of the "Niva Stavropolya" Science-and-Production Association and corresponding member of VASKHNIL, said in her speech that only a systematic and comprehensive approach toward the solution of all agro-industrial complex problems can guarantee the successful development of agro-industrial production. V.A. Starodubtsev, chairman of the "Novomoskovskoye" Agro-Industrial Association and corresponding member of VASKHNIL, noted that intensification of modern agro-industrial production within the association became possible thanks to the all-around introduction of science and to creative ties with institutes.

Candidate of Agricultural Sciences I.V. Artemov, director of Lipetsk Oblast's "Raps" Science-and-Production Association, demonstrated the unlimited opportunities offered by the integration of science and production.

The conference guests—leaders of academies of agricultural sciences and scientists from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR, and Poland—shared the experience in organizing scientific services for the agro-industrial complexes in their countries.

The conference was addressed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He said:

An all-union conference which discussed topical questions of the present stage of restructuring, and primarily party-political backup for the fulfillment of the 19th all-union party conference decisions about improving food supplies for our country's population, just ended in Orel. It was held within the framework of preparations for the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, at which it is intended to define the tasks of the CPSU's modern agrarian policy. As M.S. Gorbachev noted in his Orel speech, we are now holding consultations on these questions with scientists, specialists, and labor collective representatives to ensure that the plenum decisions serve as a practical document that is a summons to action.

Prior to that, meetings were held at the party Central Committee with rural workers who have accumulated practical experience in lease relations within the agro-industrial complex. A conference was held in October on the problems of improving economic relations in the countryside, attended mainly by kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors, and leaseholders whose experience spanned not only long careers and skilled leadership of farms but also innovative quests. A discussion was held earlier this month with leaders of central ministries and departments on problems of improving the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, and it leveled profound and serious criticism at the state of affairs in the production of new machines, systems, and other equipment for the food and processing industries. It is well known that waste along the way from the field or livestock unit to the consumer results in the loss of, for example, up to one-third of the fruit, vegetables, and potatoes that have been grown. Losses are still great as regards the quality of dairy and meat products.

It is intended to organize in the immediate future meetings to discuss other problems of the agro-industrial complex. A major discussion will be held with leading machine-building designers. We are planning to listen to the opinions of famous scientists and designers, who are called upon to augment their contribution toward the development of scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial complex. We will meet the leaders of new labor formations, agro-combines, and all sorts of associations.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee singled out the priority avenues on which agrarian science must concentrate all its efforts. Not only do they stem from today's needs, but they are also in harmony with the development trends in world science.

They are: the improvement of the economic management mechanism within the agro-industrial complex, and the creation of economic conditions making it possible to overcome the working man's alienation from the means of production. It is necessary to ensure close combination of the new economic relations with the universal assimilation of advanced technologies for the production of crop farming and livestock raising output.

Further advances will require profound qualitative changes in productive forces and the accelerated development of scientific and technical progress.

It is necessary to comprehensively intensify agro-industrial production by utilizing traditional avenues like mechanization, land reclamation, and chemicalization, as well as the latest achievements of science and technology, primarily in biotechnology, genetic engineering, microbiology, the application of electronics, and computerization.

We have to work out and apply economic and organizational methods for the broad utilization of the achievements of science, technology, and advanced experience in production.

There is a need to fundamentally change the system for basic and further training of cadres, including leaders, specialists, scientific workers, and cadres in the mass trades. It is necessary to staff all production and science subdivisions with cadres capable of running production and developing science in the new conditions.

The measures taken by the party and the government to improve scientific services for the agro-industrial complex have already had an effect on the activation of agrarian science, the speaker went on. The republic, kray, and oblast scientific service centers, science and production associations, teaching-science and production complexes, and systems which have been created

everywhere are beginning to proclaim their existence in a new way. Economic accountability and self-financing are making headway as the basic factors for the restructuring of science, enhancing the interest of scientific collectives and individual scientists in the results of their work.

Even so, however, delays, sluggishness, and at times simple inertia in the implementation of adopted decisions are still to be found in many scientific institutions and VUZ's. There is much here that depends on the leaders of scientific institutions and of economic and party organs. After all, it must be admitted that many people expect that someone will come from the center to organize everything and to allocate all resources, and then the work will take off by itself. This is the old useless approach. What we need are assertiveness, initiative, and specific practical actions. A certain amount of experience in the restructuring of agrarian science has already been accumulated in the Kuban, where the efforts of scientific institutions and the broad participation of farm leaders, specialists, and workers in agro-industrial, party, and soviet organs have resulted in the elaboration of comprehensive scientific and technical programs covering all the basic sectors of production. More than two-thirds of farms and processing enterprises have already joined the science and production systems on contractual and economically accountable terms.

People's training has been brought to the fore. A program for the basic and further training of cadres through the year 2000 has been elaborated. A network of rayon and sector farms and enterprises has been set up to provide continuous training, and the "Kubanagropromkadry" science and production complex has been set up on the base of the Kuban Agricultural Institute, comprising all the VUZ's, technical colleges, vocational and technical schools, and of course the combines [kursovyye kombinaty].

Initial successes have been achieved in the restructuring of agrarian science in the Ukraine and Belorussia, and also in Lipetsk, Belgorod, Kurgan, Rostov, Dnepropetrovsk, Ivano-Frankovsk, Vitebsk, and other oblasts.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee devoted much attention to the problems of integrating science and production. He emphasized that the CPSU Central Committee attaches great importance to science and production systems and production systems as the most effective forms of cooperation in the activity of scientific institutions, VUZ's, farms, and enterprises. They help to create real opportunities to swiftly work out and disseminate advanced technologies, and to assist every farm participating in the cooperative system to assimilate them and quickly boost production efficiency. A good reputation has been earned by science and production systems for corn in Kurgan and Dnepropetrovsk Oblasts and the Moldavian SSR, for sunflower in Rostov Oblast, for rape in Lipetsk and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts, for buckwheat in Ternopol Oblast, for truck gardening in Transcarpathian Oblast, and many others. More than 1,000 science and production systems and production systems have been set up in the country. They encompass more than 12,000 farms and enterprises. But their organization has been approached in a formal manner in a number of republics and oblasts. This way of integrating science and production is especially underrated in the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics and a number of other regions. Many systems have failed to recruit specialists to staff their economically accountable subdivisions for the introduction [of new technology], without which they cannot function efficiently, and there is no properly worked out mechanism for supplying farms with material resources.

Leaders of some head organizations within the systems try to turn them into an additional source for accumulation of resources through unjustified increases in fees payable on joining. Such an approach can only compromise the very essence of this important form of cooperation.

Many scientific institutions, and VUZ's in particular, have not become organizers of systems and have adopted a wait-and-see stance. This situation must be rectified. A lot of work must be done during the fall and winter period to create new science and production systems, staff them with specialists, work out the entire organizational and economic mechanism for their operations, and organize the training of cadres.

In conditions where the rayon agro-industrial associations are being transformed into cooperative agro-industrial associations and where the number of farm specialists is on the decrease, it is important to mold and train the cadres of economically accountable subdivisions for work on farms and in lease collectives. Their task will be not only to carry out competent consultative work but also to answer for the observance of contract conditions between the system's head organization and individual economic units.

The need to improve the work of science and production associations demands serious attention from organs of the Goasagroprom and VASKHNIL. More than 170 such associations have already been set up. Experience shows that serious changes for the better in the "research-development-introduction" cycle can be achieved in precisely these kinds of subdivisions. However, many associations have only a formal existence and the scientific institutions which head them have merely acquired a new label. Only 68 science and production associations have their own design bureaus and experimental enterprises. The others lack an appropriate material and technical base. As a result technical agricultural and livestock-breeding requirements regarding machine and equipment design are poorly elaborated, and no important development work is under way in this sphere.

The Gosagroprom and VASKHNIL have failed to work out a mechanism for planning science and production associations as a single whole; questions of their priority supply and provision with instruments and equipment have not been resolved, and they have not been empowered to coordinate their planning and design documentation.

Great importance must also be attached to the teaching science and production complexes set up on the basis of higher educational establishments. Here, too, a material and technical base must be created to promote the enhanced efficiency of the teaching process and of VUZ science.

The bearers of scientific and technical progress in the agro-industrial complex must be the rayon and sector base farms and enterprises. They have already accumulated positive experience in their work. Take for instance the "Volgo-Don" base farm in Volgograd Oblast. The Scientific Research Institute for Vegetable Growing has a subdivision at the farm whose task is to improve the design of machinery used in vegetable growing. In cooperation with the farm specialists a range of highly efficient machines for vegetable cultivation has been created. Training of cadres and broad assimilation of intensive techniques is under way on the farm. The experience of this base enterprise deserves widespread dissemination.

The sector scientific complexes set up at the VASKHNIL are called upon to play an important role in the development of the main spheres of research into problems of agro-industrial production. The veterinary, plant protection, agricultural and forestry land reclamation, and forestry complexes have made a vigorous start. However, the establishment of sector scientific complexes in general is proceeding only slowly. And there have been attempts on the part of VASKHNIL and other departments to transform them into bureaucratic organs and to burden them with work on questions of secondary importance.

Dwelling on problems in the mastering of the new economic mechanism for the application of agrarian science and its transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing, the speaker said that so far less than half the scientific research institutions within the USSR Gosagroprom have switched to these principles. The USSR Gosagroprom, agro-industrial complex ministries and departments, and union republic gosagroproms must also finally resolve the question of the establishment of a fully-fledged centralized fund for the development of production, science, and technology on the basis of budget appropriations and payments from enterprises' profits, new varieties of agricultural crops and livestock breeds, sales of elite seeds and planting material, pedigree livestock, and so forth. This will make it possible to promptly channel funds into promising new fields of research and development work. Questions of the creation of an appropriate material and technical base at scientific institutions and VUZ's demand close attention.

Speaking about the need to improve scientific backup of the agro-industrial complex, the speaker drew special attention to the increasing role of international production sharing and integration of our science, especially within the framework of the socialist community. This is the aim pursued by the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress, which includes a wide range of work on biotechnology, chemicalization, introduction of computers, development of new machinery, and the application of intensive techniques. Scientists from all fraternal countries are actively participating in its implementation. The many years of collaboration between scientists in the socialist camp have contributed to the deepening of specialization, rational division of labor, and coordination of efforts in the solution of a number of key economic development problems. A number of concrete results of the joint work was cited.

However, only the first steps have been taken in this sphere. So far there are few joint laboratories and creative collectives which could impart the necessary acceleration to scientific and technical progress.

Over the past 2 years forms of cooperation have been noticeably improved and simplified. Direct links between scientific and labor collectives have opened up great opportunities for enhancing the effectiveness of mutual assistance. It is important now to promote in every way the establishment of the greatest possible number of joint laboratories, production capacities, and enterprises producing goods which are not only urgently needed by the countries in question, but which will also be competitive in the external market. It is necessary to make wider and more effective use of both our own and foreign experience and to conduct scientific and technical cooperation on a businesslike basis.

In present-day conditions, V.P. Nikonov continued, it is impossible to resolve the task of the country's food supplies without an acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the development of more effective technologies and means of mechanization and automation based on genuinely revolutionary developments in science and technology. He made a detailed analysis of work in recent years by the country's leading scientific centers, and used concrete examples to illustrate that their contribution to the development of agricultural production is still inadequate. This applies in particular to the collectives of the following institutes—the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Cotton Growing, Ukrainian Irrigated Agriculture Scientific Research Institute, Scientific Research Institute for Agriculture in the Northwest, Scientific Research Institute for Agriculture in the Northeast, All-Russian Soybean Scientific Research Institute, Siberian Feeds Scientific Research Institute, All-Russian Sugar Beet Scientific Research

Institute, Scientific Research Institute for Potato Growing, and North Caucasus Horticulture and Viticulture Scientific Research Institute. What question of effective help to the agro-industrial complex can there be, for instance, in the case of the collective of the All-Union Cybernetics Scientific Research and Technological Design Institute. Its task is to conduct basic research on problems of systems analysis and mathematical modeling of production at all levels of the agro-industrial complex. However, so far the collective has failed to draw up a single concept or long-term program for this research.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary gave a detailed description of the priority spheres of scientific research. Economic science must provide a comprehensive substantiation of the socioeconomic paths in the development of agriculture and the sectors serving it. It must lay a solid scientific basis for the improvement of production relations, democratic bases and principles of self-management, various forms of cooperative, collective, lease, and family contracts, the correct combination of public sector production and private farming, and the development of the countryside and its infrastructure.

A key task in the sphere of crop farming has been and remains the elaboration of comprehensive measures to ensure expanded reproduction of soil fertility, the protection of soil from erosion, environmental protection, and the rational use of natural resources. The all-around enhancement of soil fertility must become the key, strategic avenue of production intensification.

In the sphere of livestock breeding it is necessary to accelerate the creation of highly productive specialized breeds of dairy cattle and meat cattle and of hybrids and crossbreeds in pig and poultry breeding, and to improve pedigree work in sheep breeding. The Holsteinization of the dairy herd, hybridization in pig breeding, and embryo transplantation methods must receive priority development.

The organization of research and application of the achievements of science in land reclamation work must be radically improved. More effective methods of comprehensive land reclamation, optimum utilization of capital investments and water resources, introduction of highly productive land reclamation systems and methods of irrigation, large-area sprinklers, and means of automated control of water resources installations based on microprocessor and computer equipment are what is needed here.

A priority task is the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the processing industry. Here it is necessary to focus scientists' efforts on scientific research to ensure the more thorough processing of food raw materials; the production of food protein, glucose and fructose syrups, pectin, and colorings; and the development of new products and waste-free technologies for their production on the basis of biotechnology and membrane, extrusion, and other equipment.

In the storage of output the widest possible use must be made of rapid low-temperature cooling and freezing, of a regulated gas environment and of automatically controlled active ventilation processes, and of effective polymer film.

It is necessary to accelerate the creation and introduction of highly productive flow lines and rotary lines, robot complexes, and loading and unloading mechanisms for technological processes in the processing, storage, and transportation of food raw materials, the manufacture of modern packaging materials, and the design and development of highly mechanized storage facilities and depots with a regulated microclimate.

The task has been set to accelerate the development and production of highly efficient and reliable equipment and power units with a view to completing the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production in the 13th 5-Year Plan.

Special attention must be paid to basic research conducted on a fundamentally new basis. It is necessary to accelerate the elaboration of effective methods of biotechnology and genetic and cell engineering, and the creation on this basis of new high-yield varieties and hybrids of agricultural crops, livestock breeds, and microorganism strains with preprogrammed properties; and of waste-free technologies and production processes for the production of food and feed products, amino acids, ferments, biological preparations, and biological plant protection agents.

Problems of the computerization of agro-industrial production and the development of effective economic and mathematical methods of modeling production processes require priority development.

During their stay in Krasnodar Kray, V.P. Nikonov and other conference participants visited a number of scientific establishments where they acquainted themselves with the organization of scientific support for the agro-industrial complex and visited exhibitions of the institutes' applied work and development projects.

At the Krasnodar rice-harvesting combine plant the CPSU Central Committee secretary showed interest in the new "Kuban" combine. The conversation with the plant's specialists and workers was devoted to setting up a regional production capacity on the basis of the plant to produce, in addition to harvesting machinery, small-series equipment for the processing of rice. Attention was also paid to social questions.

A conversation took place with leaders and scientists of agricultural academies from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the GDR, and Poland who attended the conference as guests.

V.P. Nikonov was accompanied on his trip by I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Krasnodar party kraykom, and N.I. Kondratenko, chairman of the krayispolkom.

Stavropol Grain Crop Tops 5 Million Tonnes
PM2211120188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZNN in Russian 21 Nov 88 p 1

[Correspondent S. Timofeyev report under the rubric "Harvest-88. Comparing How we Have Worked": "On the 'Pobeda' Kolkhoz and Neighboring Farms"]

[Excerpt] Stavropol Kray—Farmers in the Stavropol region have harvested more than 5 million tonnes of grain crops this year. That target was not due to be achieved until the end of the 5-year plan. The harvest averaged 28.3 quintals per hectare and is one of the highest and best in terms of quality in the kray's entire history. Some 1.62 million tonnes of strong and valuable wheat alone have been sold to the state. [passage omitted]

Dagestan Overfulfills Grain Plan
PM2211153288 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Nov 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Into the State's Stores"]

[Text] Makhachkala, 19 Nov—Dagestan's farmers have produced more than half a million tonnes of grain crops this year. Long before the target date they overfulfilled the plan for grain sales to the state. This is the first time the autonomous republic has achieved these levels, and it was possible thanks to the introduction of intensive techniques in grain farming. This year all the corn for grain was grown by subcontracting components and teams. The sowing of winter crops is now being completed in the republic's fields.

Agricultural Developments for 15-20 Nov

LD2111003388 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 15-20 November. GMT times of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

15 November

Grain producers of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, Ukraine, have won a labor victory. With an annual plan of 1,260,000 tonnes, 1,277,000 tonnes of grain have been poured into the state granaries; 84 percent of the winter wheat is made up of strong and valuable varieties. (2050)

Kirghizia cotton farmers have fulfilled their pledges for cotton deliveries to the state. More than 75,000 tonnes of the raw material has arrived at procurement points. (0700)

The sugar beet harvest has ended in the Ukraine. As a whole 42.25 million tonnes of the crop have been procured in the republic. (0700)

For the first time Uzbek cotton growers have fulfilled the plan. To date they have delivered nearly 5.3 million tonnes of cotton. (1430)

Many farms in the Ukraine had losses because they had not completed the sugar beet harvest before snow started to fall. Nearly 3 million tonnes of sugar have been produced from the new harvest. (1200)

16 November

Uzbekistan: Today rural machine operators are sowing winter cereal crops on the last tens of thousands of hectares. Karshi steppe farms are the first to complete this job, having allocated over 200,000 hectares to grain crops. (0304)

This year has been successful for many Amur Oblast farms. More than 300,000 tonnes of soy beans have been procured, as againt 180,000 tonnes in the plan. (0700)

17 November

Sowing of winter grain crops has been completed in Turkmenia. The crops cover more than 100,000 hectares. This year the farmers have given preference to the most promising strains of wheat and barley. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0642)

Belorussia: Farms are completing sowing preparations. This year, spring grain crops will occupy 2.8 million hectares in the republic—almost half of all plowed land. (0304)

Uzbek rice growers have completed harvesting. They have delivered over 480,000 tonnes to the procurement points. (1200)

18-19 November

No fileworthy items monitored.

20 November

The cotton producers of Tajikistan have sent to the procurement centers over 950,000 tonnes. One-third of the crop is top-grade. This is the first time in 8 years that the targets for the production of cotton have been achieved so soon. (1200)

The Belorussian SSR has exceeded the food program levels set for 1990 in terms of production and sales of meat and milk. Egor Fedorovich Sukharukov, first deputy chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee of Belorussia, says the republic will exceed the 5 year-plan targets for milk and meat by 1,330,000 tonnes and 350,000 tonnes respectively. The failure to reach grain fodder and potato targets for the outgoing year points to there being many untapped reserves. The Belorussian SSR will probably not have a single loss- making farm at the end of 1988, which testifies to major work having been done to develop the countryside. (1200)

Scientific

Underground Nuclear Test at Semipalatinsk

LD2311061288 Moscow TASS in English 0606 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—The Soviet Union staged an underground nuclear explosion with a yield of up to 20 kilotons at a test range in Semipalatinsk at 6:57 in the morning (Moscow Time) [0357 GMT] today.

The test was conducted to check the results of research in the physics of nuclear explosion.

The radiological situation in the explosion area and outside the test range is normal.

History, Future of Buran Spacecraft Viewed

LD2211022788 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Last week the Soviet reusable spacecraft Buran completed its maiden mission. Our reporter Peter Vasiliyev has talked to Dr Vladimir Struminskiy, a prominent space expert, and asked him to comment on the new spacecraft and the history of its development. Had it been a tortuous path toward this spacecraft?

[Begin recording] [Struminskiy in Russian with superimposed English translation] Unfortunately it has. We began to develop the system in the late fifties. We were certain that it is the clue to the development of space and aircraft technology. In the mid-60's a spacecraft of that kind was built, although it was much smaller than Buran. It even went to tests, but the project was killed becuase it was considered to be too expensive. Recently work on the project was resumed and we like to refer to it as the spacecraft of perestroyka.

We made a great deal of headway in streamlining the craft's parameters. It measures 36 meters in length, has a wingspan of 24 meters, and stands 16.5 meters above the ground. Its payload bay can accommodate a train car or a cargo of 30 tons.

[Vasiliyev] What makes the Soviet reusable spacecraft different in principle from the American space shuttle?

[Struminskiy] My own view is that the chief drawback of the space shuttle is that it uses solid boosters. There are two boosters and if one fails there is a disaster. Our approach to designing Buran resulted in an entirely new formula whereby even if one of the engines of the first or second booster stage fails, the craft will be able to survive and continue its mission. In that case, the craft goes into a low orbit or completes one orbit around the earth and lands safely.

[Vasiliyev] Both craft are launched vertically, which is of course a very expensive way to launch spacecraft. Can we expect a horizontal takeoff spacecraft reasonably soon?

[Struminskiy] I would say that we can. Buran is a different matter though, but I can visualize a horizontal takeoff spacecraft fairly soon. After a slight modification, we should be able to take large payloads into the upper atmosphere after a horizontal takeoff. That is, the spacecraft will be sitting on an aircraft that would lift it, relying on atmospheric oxygen in its own wings. The orbiter will actuate its own engines in the upper atmosphere to accelerate it into orbit, while the aircraft will land. That is the broadest road into outer space, as we see it. The expenses will be cut dramatically.

[Vasiliyev] What is the service life of the Buran spacecraft, Dr Vladimir Struminskiy?

[Struminskiy] It's hard to say, really. We can estimate the service life of passenger aircraft, but here we are dealing with a spacecraft that has entirely different tasks to perform and (?whose) parameters are also very different. But I would say that this modification should survive 100 missions.

[Vasiliyev] What are the prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in space exploration and in particular employing reusable spacecraft for that purpose?

[Stuminskiy] Well, we need cooperation and we have met with American colleagues who took an interest. We would like to have direct links between NASA and the USSR Academy of Sciences. There is an agreement in principle on such links. [end recording]

Soviet Shuttle to Aid Science Programs

PM2211121188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 88 p 9

[Interview with S.F. Bogodyazh, department chief in the Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, by A. Istomin under the rubric "The Opinion of a Competent Man": "Is There a Need for a Soviet 'Shuttle'?"—date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The reason for meeting with a staffer of the Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology was a television reportage by the U.S. journalist Barry Peterson, broadcast by CBS. Peterson had

said: "The Russians have never said exactly how they intend to use their 'shuttle' or even what they need it for. The implementation of the expensive program started long before the Soviet Union began to experience serious economic difficulties. The problems with the reusable spacecraft have hotted up the debate around the nature of the Soviet space program."

The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office has decided to help the U.S. journalist to understand the questions which he has raised, and sent its correspondent to see S.F. Bodyazh, head of a department of the Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology.

[Istomin] Stepan Filippovich, Soviet specialists have claimed for many years that the Soviet Union does not need to copy the U.S. experience as regards its "Space Shuttle" program, especially after the tragic accident with the "Challenger." What has changed of late, what are the reasons for the creation of the "Buran"-"Energiya" space rocket system in our country, and what place does it occupy in the current Soviet space program?

[Bogodyzh] Let me say, first, that there has never been any question of copying, nor can there be. The work on the system began many years ago. Soviet and American specialists went their own ways in this sphere and created completely different spacecraft. It has been said more than once that their resemblance is only external. It is no accident, after all, that all aircraft have wings—these are the conditions dictated by aerodynamics. The need to build the "Buran"-"Energiya" shuttle system sprang from the new tasks presented by space research. The new system makes it possible not only to place a payload in orbit but also to transport it in the opposite direction, that is to bring it back from space. It is possible to bring objects which carry information—satellites—back to earth. A new task has arisen—the industrialization of space—and "Buran" will help to resolve it. It is no secret that the European Space Agency and Japanese specialists are also working on these problems. There was a time when we could not devote all our forces to this project. Skilled cadres and new ideas were needed. But there is a time for everything, and the time to test our spacecraft has now come.

[Istomin] The new space system is distinguished by its high degree of technical complexity. Furthermore, both the flight and the landing will be carried out in a fully automatic mode. Does this mean that the "Buran" is equipped with new-generation Soviet computers which excel over similar models available elsewhere?

[Bogodyazh] It is a historical fact that all our craft, beginning with the "Vostoks," have been tested in automatic mode. It is true that test personnel face a complex task—after all, all the U.S. "Shuttle" flights were manned. This greatly facilitates the task during launch and landing. However, we want to have a certain safety margin to avoid unorthodox situations. This consideration makes it necessary for us to make the first flight unmanned. As to whether our computers are more efficient than American ones, it is difficult to say; time will tell.

[Istomin] What provisions for crew safety will be made if the next flights are manned?

[Bogodyazh] We have an emergency crew rescue system. It has been developed earlier and has been used on other spacecraft. It will be transferred to the "Buran" with the necessary adjustments.

[Istomin] What are the prospects for the utilization of the Soviet reusable spacecraft in the next few years?

[Bogodyazh] In my opinion the "Buran" at present is above all a "tugboat" for scientific and technical progress. It will undoubtedly be of enormous benefit to our science, especially in such promising spheres of its development as radioelectronics, the building of engines, computer complexes, launch pads, and so forth.

[Istomin] When, in your opinion, would we have built the "Buran" if there had not been the "Challenger" and the "Discovery?"

[Bogodyazh] It always carries prestige and is of benefit for science to be the first to implement a valuable idea. However, it is necessary also for this idea to function reliably and effectively. Here competition cannot be avoided. It is just as necessary as mutually advantageous cooperation in the sphere of space research. I believe that we would have built a reusable spacecraft sooner or later anyhow.

Cosmonauts Set 'Space Endurance Record'

LD2211132688 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have gone into the 12th month of their space flight. By the time they return to Earth, on Dec. 21, they will have spent exactly one year in orbit.

Ten days ago they beat the space endurance record of 326 days, set by the first Mir commander, Yuriy Romanenko, last year.

Titov and Manarov will leave the orbiting platform Mir at the end of a Soviet-French mission due to depart for Mir on Nov. 26.

According to doctors, both cosmonauts are in good health. The changes in their weights and muscles have been insignificant and comparable with Romanenko's

after as much time aloft. When the latter landed, incidentally, he proved to have suffered much smaller muscle and bone tissue losses than cosmonauts returning from shorter missions.

His weight was practically the same as at launch and the functional changes in his cardiovascular system were comparable with those in cosmonauts after shorter space flights.

The Soviet-French crew, whose blastoff from Baykonur Cosmodrome will be attended by President Francois Mitterrand, will be third cosmonaut team hosted on Mir by Titov and Manarov. It will remain there longer than the Soviet-Bulgarian crew in June or the Soviet-Afghan crew in August-September.

Physician Valeriy Polyakov, who was part of the latter mission, has stayed on and will continue working there with his two compatriots from the Soviet-French crew until next April. The Frenchman will return to Earth together with Titov and Manarov.

The first-choice Soviet-French team are Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien. The back-up crew are Aleksandr Viktorenko, Aleksandr Serebrov and Michel Tognini.

Mir, the first-ever permanently manned orbiting station, was launched in February 1986. Unlike its predecessors—the stations in the Salyut series, it has six rather than two docking ports.

One is currently used by an astrophysics module called Kvant (quantum), which linked up with the platform last April.

During the Soviet-French mission Mir will be occupied by as many as six people for the first time. The climax of the programme will come when the crew commander and the French cosmonaut take a spacewalk to attach samples of new solar cell arrays to the outer wall. These will have to stand the test of space radiation, vacuum and sharp temperature fluctuations.

Academician Borisov on Manned Mars Mission

LD2211145288 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The main direction of the Soviet program for solar system exploration up to 2010 or 2015 will be a manned mission to Mars. That is the ultimate goal of the program, which is to be preceded by extensive exploration with automatic probes. Oleg Borisov [corresponding member of the Earth Sciences Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences] comments.

[Begin Borisov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] [passage omitted] We divide the program of Mars exploration into three stages. The first is to cover the period 1944 [as heard] to 96 and use the already tested Soviet booster rocket Energiya, capable of putting into orbit masses of over 100 tons. The main task here is a detailed study of the planet's surface. This stage will require advanced technology, such as vehicles to traverse Mars, drilling rigs, and atmospheric probes. Information collected at the first stage must help choose the most promising areas of Mars for a future manned mission.

The next stage is to be mounted in the years 2000 and 2005. That should be a rehearsal of a manned flight trying out its elements. This stage is to solve a multitude of unprecedented research tasks. Apart from further study of the chosen areas with the help of exploratory vehicles, it will be necessary to recover samples of Mars soil for analysis back on Earth. [end recording]

[Announcer] Could you tell us more about the technology to be used for expeditions on Mars?

[Begin Borisov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The mass of each of the two landing craft, including exploratory vehicles and booster rockets for returning, will be 60 tons, another 10 tons for the satellite waiting in orbit, and as much for the spacecraft to return to Earth. The heaviest elements will be the nuclear electric jet engines—80 tons each. In all, a mass of 300 tons is to be put into the flight trajectory. To protect the crew and equipment from radiation the engines are to be placed about 100 meters back of the cockpit. And if the first two stages of the program succeed in the years 2005 and 2010 we may expect the first ever manned flight to another planet. [end recording]

[Announcer] What further immediate tasks do Soviet scientists envisage for the initial studies of Mars?

[Begin Borisov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] For the first time we'll have a bird's eye view of a large area of Mars seen from orbital complexes flying at an altitude of 200-300 km. The resolving capacity of the stereo television camera will be 20 meters and the photo camera will be able to record objects less than a meter in size. Scientists are particularly interested in the geological history of Mars. They are highly intrigued by what happened to water that seems to have once been present there in large quantities. It may now be preserved in the ice caps near the equator and the poles. The Mars travelling vehicles are to be supplied with apparatus to measure the biological activity of the soil. One of the leading researchers at the Institute of Space Exploration, Lev Mukhin, explains:

In the past, he says, the planet had a warm climate over a period of approximately a billion years. We can design instruments of such precision as to detect even a single cell or bacteria in the soil samples. Another matter is whether they are living or dead. [end recording]

[Announcer] Will the Mars vehicles be different from vehicles on Earth?

[Begin Borisov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Soviet designers are already developing possible variations. A curious film about trying out models has been shown at a conference. Two types of vehicles are envisaged, the lighter type up to 250 kg and a heavier one about 600. They will have radio isotope sources of energy to supply them from 1 to 3 years and enable them to cover up to 500 km. They'll carry various instruments and apparatus. Such a cross country vehicle ought to be able to assess the surroundings and pick its way by computer eyesight. [end recording]

[Announcer] Soviet specialists insist that a Mars exploration program of such a scale can best be carried out with international cooperation, including its manned flight stage. They have invited a number of European countries and the United States to take part.

AIDS Scare Exposes Medical Negligence

PM2311083188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Nov 88 p 4

[Report by correspondent I. Krasikov under the rubric "Grounds for Reflection": "Competence Deficiency Syndrome"—last two paragraphs are editorial comment]

[Text] Tynda-Blagoveshchensk—The news spread with lightning speed and alarmed the whole of Tynda: AIDS on the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad [BAM]! Without taking any precautions, physicians at the Tynda Maternity Home had delivered a baby to a woman infected with an immune deficiency virus. Those who had been giving birth nearby had been put in jeopardy....

"Yes, there was such a case," V. Bykovskiy, chief physician of the rayon hospital, grudgingly acknowledged. "The woman K., who had come with her husband to BAM from near Kharkov, came to us in labor 21 August and gave birth the same day. We knew nothing of the fact that **in Kupyanskiy Rayon Hospital, where her pregnancy had been monitored before she came to us, her blood had produced a positive reaction to AIDS.** Her baby was delivered as usual, without any additional precautions. As a result, approximately 120 people were indeed exposed to the risk of infection. They included young mothers, their newborn babies, and the personnel at the maternity home.

A special commission which hurriedly traveled to Tynda from the oblast center discovered a mass of violations of sanitary norms in the maternity home. It turned out that the syringes and needles used during K.'s labor had not been sterilized. Moreover, there was a shortage of them in the maternity home. And one sterilization in every three was only perfunctory....

K.'s labor had proved difficult and required assistance from Physician A. Morozov, an experienced gynecologist. Of course, knowing nothing about the young woman, he then used the same instruments to operate on several other women.

Other circumstances also came to light. Midwife L. Ivanova, who delivered K.'s baby, had examined her without gloves. After giving birth, K.'s milk was used to feed several babies whose mothers were weaker. Her blood went into the maternity home's common plasma bank and became a constituent of 35 liters of plasma already prepared for dispatch.

No, it was not just 120 people who were in the "zone" of a possible AIDS "explosion" on BAM that day but several hundred....

"But what could we have done!"—L. Bykanova, deputy chief physician of the rayon hospital, tried to evaluate the situation. "We received the letter from Kupyanskiy Central Rayon Hospital only 30 August, when K. had already been discharged. True, we did at once destroy the plasma. We poured all 35 liters (the result of 2 months' work) into a cesspool and covered it with a 1-meter layer of bleaching powder. We monitored everyone who might be a potential carrier of the virus. The blood of K. and her husband was sent to Blagoveshchensk for a repeat analysis, because BAM does not have its own diagnostic laboratory...."

The BAM medics were in a state of shock for a whole month. It took so much time to investigate the blood which had been sent first to Blagoveshchensk and then to Moscow.

"I hardly slept for that month," Doctor A. Morozov said. "I was waiting for tragic symptoms all the time. My responsibility to people for the carelessness that had occurred really got me down."

I was talking with Aleksandr Viktorovich after the reassuring news had come from Moscow: The original Kharkov diagnosis had not been confirmed—K. had had an immunological disturbance [sdvig], which is not all that uncommon during pregnancy.

"We had all more than enough worry," said L. Bykanova, summing up in this regard, "and only now are we relieved...."

Relieved? But what if K. had really proved to be a carrier of the "20th-century plague"?

"We must honestly admit that we are not ready to meet this terrible misfortune," V. Smirnov, chief physician of Amurskaya Sanitary-Epidemiological Center, said in conversation with me. "What happened in Tynda confirms this once again. We have exposed there many instances of professional negligence and violations of elementary sanitary norms which are, incidentally, also

characteristic of many other medical establishments in the oblast. But there all this was also compounded by an unfavorable accumulation of circumstances: The maternity home is impermissibly small for a growing city and is not even equipped with water and sewerage mains. The unsatisfactory sanitary state, plus the belated reporting of the suspicion that the female patient had AIDS, could have made Tynda the epicenter of an epidemic."

Vladimir Tomovich had very weighty grounds for making such an assertion. At the time of our conversation the two diagnostic laboratories that have been set up this year had been inoperative for 2 months: There were no so-called test systems for diagnosing AIDS. Neither the Novosibirsk "Vektor" Science-and-Production Association nor the specialized "Antigen" Enterprise of the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry had provided the Far Easterners with them. Deliveries of preparations to Blagoveshchensk came to a halt back in August.

"We are not now checking even donors' blood for AIDS," P. Bondarenko, chief physician of Amurskaya Blood Transfusion Station, said.

Other clinics are in a similar position. Requests are fulfilled by barely one-fourth from laboratories in Khabarovsk Kray, Buryatia, Chita Oblast....

Intravenous injections, during which a virus can penetrate directly into a person's blood, pose a no less real danger today. The most effective measure for combating this is considered to be the use of disposable syringes, blood transfusion systems, and drips [kapelnitsy]. However, clinics and maternity homes lack even ordinary "injection" instruments. This year, for example, Amur Oblast Medical Equipment Administration received just 21,000 of the 99,000 ordinary syringes mentioned in the request.

It is fortunate that, having rumbled, the storm has passed us by this time. But it could return. The optimistic statement by P. Datskevich, deputy chief of the BAM Medical-Sanitary Service, sounded a dissonant note:

"I do not believe the problem of AIDS poses a special danger to us. BAM has the most favorable indicators in the country even for such a widespread disease as viral hepatitis. And the preventive measures we apply to it are absolutely identical with the measures against AIDS."

The usual complacency, so convenient for the time being, is once again gaining the upper hand in Tynda. Meanwhile, however, the blood of pregnant women is still not being tested for the presence of the AIDS virus on BAM because, as Pavel Ivanovich Datskevich explained, there is no official instruction to that effect from the Railways Ministry Main Sanitary Administration! That's the way it goes....

From the editors. This, the third instance in some 6 weeks, indicates that as before we are unprepared for an active struggle against the AIDS epidemic. In Leningrad the virus was discovered belatedly, after a female patient had died. In Odessa it was found only after a woman "of easy virtue," who was on the books, had given birth to a sick baby. Now a new affair, which fortunately did not lead to a tragedy, but again emphasized an alarming situation. How many more signals does the Ministry of Health need for awareness of the danger which is already living in our home to penetrate the consciousness of those on whom we are so reliant and whom we consider to be our protection—the consciousness of physicians? What further articles, speeches, business trips abroad, penalties, or awards do they need? And can death alone really overcome negligence, while the voice of reason cannot?

The stand of the two departments directly responsible for the timely production of test systems, disposable instruments, and equipment for immunological laboratories—the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems and the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry—is also striking. Their leaders, alas, still treat the production of all this output, which is vitally essential to the country, almost like the pickling of cucumbers: If there are enough barrels, good; if not, we will still manage.... They no longer respond to newspaper articles—particularly those published in TRUD. There is an article in law which provides for punishment for "leaving people in danger." Is this not a case in point?

Military

Military Leaders at Rocket Forces Day Ceremony

PM2211144388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Ceremonial Meeting in Moscow"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the working people of the hero-city Moscow and servicemen from the capital's garrison was held at the Soviet Army Central Theater 18 November to mark Rocket Forces and Artillery Day. In the presidium of the meeting were Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; B.M. Belousov and V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, USSR ministers; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army Generals Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, V.M. Shabanov, and D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Yu.P. Grigoryev and N.I. Shlyaga, chiefs of sectors of CPSU Central Committee departments; members of military councils and chiefs of the political directorates

of branches of the Armed Forces; marshals of categories of troops; generals and officers; rocket forces and artillery veterans; workers in the defense industry; and designers.

The ceremonial meeting was opened by Colonel General V.S. Rodin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces Political Directorate.

Warm words of greeting were addressed to missilemen and artillerymen by Hero of Socialist Labor S.P. Nepobedimyy, chief designer at the Ministry of General Machine Building and holder of the Lenin and State prizes; Lieutenant General I.N. Anashkin, veteran of the Ground Forces rocket forces and artillery; and Captain A.N. Konnov, a missile officer.

The ceremonial meeting was addressed by Colonel General Yu.A. Yashin, first deputy commander in chief of Strategic Rocket Forces.

Yazov Order for Rocket Forces Day

PM2211142988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister Order of the Day No 395" issued in Moscow and dated 20 November 1988]

[Text] Comrade missilemen and artillerymen, designers and workers in the defense industry, and veterans of the Rocket Forces and artillery!

I greet you and congratulate you on Rocket Forces and Artillery Day!

The Soviet people and their Armed Forces are marking this holiday in an atmosphere of strenuous labor in the fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference decisions. The renewal of Soviet society and revolutionary transformations in the country's economic and sociopolitical life are gathering pace. The new political thinking has given dynamism to Soviet foreign policy. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was a significant milestone on the path toward a nuclear-free world.

However, the positive processes in world development have still not become irreversible. The danger of war persists through the fault of imperialist reaction.

On the basis of that and guided by our defensive doctrine, missilemen and artillerymen are increasing their efforts to improve the quality of combat training, organization, and military discipline. They are performing their combat duty vigilantly, constantly improving their military skill, and doing their patriotic and internationalist duty fittingly side by side with the servicemen of other branches of the USSR Armed Forces and armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

On this festive day I wish the personnel of rocket forces and artillery, workers in the defense industry, and veterans new successes in work, service, and the increasing of professional skill, good health, and happiness.

To mark Rocket Forces and Artillery Day, I order:

That a festive firework display be held today, 20 November 1988, at 2100 hours local time in the hero-city of Moscow, the capital of our motherland, in the capitals of the union republics, in the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, and in the hero-fortress of Brest.

I express the confidence that missilemen and artillerymen, true to Lenin's behests, will continue to honorably fulfill their responsible tasks of protecting our motherland and socialism's gains.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Soviet Rocket Forces Commander Interviewed

AU2211120588 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Army General Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov, commander of the USSR Strategic Rocket Forces, USSR deputy minister of defense, and Hero of the Soviet Union, by unidentified NOVOSTI reporter, specially dispatched for NARODNA ARMIYA: "Responsibility for the Future"—time and place not given]

[Text] [NOVOSTI] Comrade Deputy Minister, in December 1959 the USSR decided to establish a new type of armed forces—the strategic rocket forces. Can you give the reason why our country was forced to adopt this action?

[Maksimov] The establishment of the Strategic Rocket Forces was a reciprocal measure taken against a real and existing military threat. We were forced to reciprocate the arms race which was imposed on us. We had to respond not only on a political scale, but also by military action. Starting with our geographical situation, and basing ourselves on the lessons of military history and experiences accumulated in space missile construction, we opted to giving preference to ICBM.

[NOVOSTI] Can you describe the tasks of the Strategic Rocket Forces in the context of the new military doctrine adopted by the Soviet Union?

[Maksimov] Our military doctrine is a defensive one. It is subject to the task of averting war. We are well aware of the fact that the solution of any problem whatsoever through military means is inadmissible under the present-day circumstances.

How should we describe the tasks facing the rocket troops in this connection? We must always be ready to retaliate against a sudden attack. The time-span within which the warheads of U.S. missiles launched from bases on land or on submarines can reach the Soviet territory varies from 8 to 15 minutes, which is why the Strategic Rocket Forces should be in a state of permanent combat readiness. They must be ready for retaliation at any moment, and under all circumstances. Our high state of combat readiness is the factor that restrains any potential aggressor. There is even one more circumstance: In case of aggression against our country, the first thing the enemy will try to do is to destroy the Strategic Rocket Forces units by simultaneous nuclear strikes with its strategic means against other targets. Thus we are forced to find ways and means of increasing the security and combat strength of our rocket forces units, both against nuclear and conventional arms. Otherwise, we cannot retaliate against a nuclear strike on our territory.

[NOVOSTI] As a veteran of the Great Patriotic War and as a high-ranking commander today, how do you feel about the problems of reducing and eliminating nuclear arms?

[Maksimov] I have my own idea of war. I learned about war from my experience in the trenches, from wounds, blood and fire, from the infinite sufferings and misfortunes to which my homeland was subjected in the past. I still have fragments from a fascist grenade in my body, which does not cause me any physical pain, but nevertheless, is a source of bitter reminiscences and memories.

I have the feeling that people on Earth are tired of hatred, of dangers, of local wars. Like the mythical athletes of the past, they carry on their shoulders the globe, which is not made of blue skies, but of mountains of weapons. Why so? To provoke one day the last event in the life of mankind, namely to unleash a missile-nuclear war? In this case there would be no reason and no one to whom we could justify ourselves for our common shortcomings, or for the mistakes committed by some individual state. As a soldier who has served nearly half a century in the USSR Armed Forces, and as a citizen of the first socialist state in the world which initiated its historical development with a peace decree, I welcome the first real step toward averting the arms race, namely the INF Treaty.

I would like to believe that this treaty is a prologue to the 50-percent reduction of USSR and U.S. strategic forces, and in the long run, toward the common renunciation of war and of the accumulation of weapons by all countries. I am in favor of the era of military unemployment and I wish that it would begin as soon as possible.

We not only eliminated a whole class of weapons—we are striving toward the science of mutual confidence. In mastering the technology of destroying missiles, we are learning about honest partnership and mutual control. How is the process of eliminating missiles progressing? Approximately 100 Soviet R-12 and RSD-10 missiles are to be destroyed by the end of November 1988. The RSD-10 missiles, known in the West as SS-20 missiles, are being destroyed through launching. This shows that, to this day, we have implemented 54 launchings of this type of missiles in accordance with the INF Treaty.

We are convinced that there is no alternative to the elimination of missiles, but this elimination will become real only if it takes place on a mutually advantageous basis by preserving parity at every specific stage.

In autumn 1988, 11 foreign television companies visited the Soviet S-11 missile silo in Ivanovsk Oblast. This is an eloquent example of glasnost. The foreign reporters could see for themselves that our rocket troop officers are people with lofty moral convictions and excellent professional qualifications. They are psychologically sound, and during their training for combat service, they have to undergo medical tests. They are young; the average age of our officers is 26 to 28, and they have full understanding of the future reduction of nuclear arms. At the same time, however, they are ready to fulfill their military duties in case of necessity. I am confident that lofty moral standards, humanitarianism, and courage will always distinguish the defenders of socialism.